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HISTORY

OF

MADAGASCAR.

COMPRISING ALSO

THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSION ESTABLISHED IN 1818; AND AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT MARTYRDOM OF RAFARAVAVY; AND OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

Compiled chiefly from Original Documents,

BY THE REV. WILLIAM ELLIS,

Foreign Secretary to the London Missionary Society.

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"TELL THE QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR FROM ME, THAT SHE CAN DO NOTHING SO BENEFICIAL FOR HER COUNTRY AS TO RECEIVE THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION."

Queen Adelaide to the Embassy from Madagascar.

W. 1. 3

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF MADAGASCAR.

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EVERY thing connected with an island so extensive as Madagascar, and a population so numerous, and in many respects so remarkable, as that by which it is inhabited, is important to those who find pleasure in the study of nature, or in marking the progress of human society under all its diversified forms. Descriptions of the country, its climate and productions, of the varied races by which

it is peopled, and the peculiar characteristics by which these are distinguished, have been already given. To these have been added, accounts of their domestic manners, their civil relations and social condition, their occupations and amusements, their national observances and customs, their government, mythology, and superstitions, as these have been found to exist among them during the period that has elapsed since the year 1818, when the first Protestant Missionaries entered the country.

There is no reason for supposing that prior to this date the changes in native society had been either frequent or extensive. The settlements which the nations of Europe have, at different times, formed on the coast of Madagascar, have all been of brief duration, and their tendency to produce any change of character and habits among the aborigines, exceedingly feeble and circumscribed. The settlement of the pirates on the island in the seventeenth century, and the intercourse of the natives with the Moors and the Arabs, who appear from a very early period to have visited their coasts, and to have formed establishments on shore for the purposes of trade, have probably effected the greatest changes to which they have been subject since the discovery of the island. The influence of these changes, however, does not seem to have extended beyond the immediate localities in which they occurred, unless to those sources we ascribe the practice of divination, the calculation of destinies, and the rite of circumcision. The races inhabiting the interior, the Hovas, the Betsileo, the Antsianaka, furnish no evidence of any other change than would naturally result from the supremacy or subordination of the several tribes, as this might be produced by the character and talents of their respective rulers.

The accounts already given, relate chiefly to the native races inhabiting the interior, and describe their manners and customs, &c., as they have been exhibited within the last twenty years. But the habits and usages of the natives described by those who have dwelt among them during the period above referred to, resemble so closely all the notices of the Malagasy given by every writer entitled to credit, by whom their country has been visited since its discovery by Europeans, that they may, with propriety, be regarded as imparting a correct view, not only of the state of the people in recent times, but for many preceding generations. The account of the natives in the state in which they were found by the Missionaries has been given; the extent to which their character, institutions, and observances have been influenced by the residence of Europeans in the island, has also been noticed in the preceding volume; and to the narrative of the chief events that have occurred among them since their discovery, so far as these can be ascertained, the subsequent pages are appropriated.

There is reason to believe that none of the races comprehended in the existing population of Madagascar were among its earliest inhabitants. The Vazimba, the sites of whose rude villages, which, like those of the ancient Britons in our own country, may still be traced in several of the interior provinces of the island, whose graves have for many generations been regarded with profound veneration, and have been, to a certain extent, the altars and the objects of their superstitious worship, seem to have been one of the earliest races in Madagascar with whose existence the uncertain light of oral tradition has made us acquainted. To this race, which is now only to be found in the legendary history of the island, a higher

degree of antiquity seems to belong, than to any of those now peopling the island. All our knowledge respecting the Vazimba is comprised in the simple statements, that they dwelt in the interior of the island, were conquered by strangers, and as a race have become extinct, having been amalgamated with others, or exterminated by their conquerors.

The period at which the several races at present inhabiting Madagascar first came to the island, the circumstances attending their settlement, and the movements by which they attained their present localities and relative position, are enveloped in the impenetrable obscurity which conceals the origin and early history of all uncivilized nations. In prosecuting inquiry on these subjects, we are left to uncertain and unsatisfactory conjecture, aided only by the few analogies to existing nations in other parts of the world, which language, or customs, or physical resemblance may supply.

It has been already stated, that the present inhabitants of Madagascar derive their origin from more than one source. Part of them are unquestionably of African descent; other portions have evidently one common origin with the inhabitants of the Malayan peninsula, most of the maritime parts of south-eastern Asia, and the chief islands of the Pacific ocean. It is the opinion of some that the island has been in part peopled by colonies of Moors, Persians, or Arabs. If so, this must have taken place before Islamism had become the creed of those nations, as the introduction of several observances strongly resembling some of the rites of Mohammedanism, is — according to the traditionary accounts of the people—of comparatively recent occurrence.

The Arabs, Persians, and natives of India, particularly

those in the neighbourhood of Bombay, have, without doubt, been accustomed for many centuries past to resort to Madagascar for purposes of trade: and though considerable numbers of the former have at different periods remained on the island, they have, when compared with the aboriginal population of the place, been but few, and, by intermarrying with the natives, have amalgamated with the Malagasy, and, with but rare exceptions, have left no satisfactory or permanent traces of their origin or race.

The Malagasy, ignorant themselves of the use of letters, have no records of their own history, and we are not aware of any that have been preserved by the civilized nations of antiquity. It has been supposed that Madagascar was known to the ancients, but there does not appear to be any valid foundation for the opinion. The existence of the island was first made known to the nations of Europe by the adventurous and persevering Marco Paulo. Wide, however, as his range of travel was, he did not visit the country, but brought to Europe the accounts he had received concerning it while in Asia. After the notice Marco Paulo gave of Madagascar, nearly three centuries elapsed before any accurate knowledge of its geographical position and extent was obtained, when Lawrence Almeida, son of the first Portuguese viceroy in India, discovered it on his voyage to the East in the year 1506.

After the Portuguese had once made their way to Madagascar, it appeared to them too considerable and important a country to be neglected; they consequently sailed round the island in 1508, and constantly anchored at it afterwards in their voyages to the East Indies. In the province of Anosy, on a steep rock on the bank of the river Franchere, they established a settlement and built a fort. It was situated

near the village Hatore, and had several large enclosures, with buildings, around it. These enclosures, cultivated by the colonists, afforded an abundant supply of provisions, but the establishment having excited the jealousy of the natives, the garrison proved insufficient for its defence, and the new settlers were massacred to a man.

The Portuguese, who had introduced a few Roman Catholic priests into the island, had also prevailed upon one of the chiefs to send his son to Goa, that he might be instructed in the Christian religion. He was educated under the care of the priests, whose labours were so far successful that he was baptised, on a profession of the christian faith; but, on his return to his own country, he assumed the sovereignty, to which he had become entitled by his father's death, and returned to his former paganism. He reigned some years, and lived on friendly terms with the Portuguese, but was at length killed in the attack made by the French upon the town of Franchère, where he resided; with the destruction of their colony, all idea of converting the natives of Madagascar to the Christian faith appears to have been abandoned by the Portuguese.

Very little progress was made towards the interior of the country, either by the Portuguese or Dutch, who also made a point of touching at the island on their way to India. The chief object they had in view seems to have been that of securing themselves a safe retreat, and a supply of fresh provisions in their voyages; their attention being occupied in the acquisition and support of settlements more to the eastward; it was therefore left to the French to follow the example of the Spaniards in South America, and to attempt to establish themselves by subduing the inhabitants.

Their first attempt was made in 1642, when a patent was granted by Cardinal Richelieu, to Captain Rivault, for

the exclusive right of sending ships and forces to Madagascar and the neighbouring islands, in order to establish a colony or plantation for the promotion of commerce. Having obtained this patent, a society was organised, under the name of the French East India Company, and their first ship was sent out in 1642, under the command of Captain Coquet, who had previously been about to sail thither on his own account, and that of other merchants, for a cargo of ebony. With him were sent out two governors, Pronis and Fonquenberg, and twelve other Frenchmen, who had orders to remain, and await the arrival of a ship intended to sail from France in the following November. In their passage they anchored at the islands of Mascarenha or Isle of Bourbon, and Diego de Rois and took possession of them in the king's name. They next made St. Mary's island and the Bay of Antongil, of which they also took possession, and ultimately arrived at the port of Lucia, or Monghasia, in September, where they immediately established themselves.

Pronis, who had received orders to take possession of Madagascar in the king's name, and to form an establishment on a suitable spot, capable of being fortified, and of easy and secure access, chose the village of Monghasia, at the extremity of the province of Anossy. This appeared to them a most eligible place, on account of the numerous herds of cattle which abound in the district, and the rice and other vegetable produce with which it was plentifully supplied; as well as on account of the proximity of a navigable river which takes its rise at the foot of a mountain in the interior: timber was found in great abundance in the neighbourhood, and the harbour was protected by the little island of St. Lucius.

In the year 1643 the settlement was reinforced by Captain Resimont, who arrived in the ship Lawrence with seventy

men. His arrival was most advantageous to the French, for Captain Coquet having gone to Matitanana to take in his cargo, the natives, instigated by the Portuguese, had meditated an attack upon the settlement; it required all the address of Pronis to ward off the danger, and this was only affected by means of large presents to the chief of the district.

Having thus preserved himself from the treachery of the natives, he was able, on receiving assistance, to send twelve men to establish themselves in the province of Matitanana. They advanced about eighteen leagues into the province, towards Monzan, for the purpose of purchasing rice and other provisions, and exploring the country; but on crossing a river, six of them were killed by the chiefs, who had assembled their subjects in great numbers with the intention of opposing their progress. The son of Resimont, and six sailors employed in collecting a cargo of ebony in an adjacent province, were also destroyed by a party of the natives, instigated by one of the chiefs of Anossy, who, not daring openly to attack the French, secretly prompted the people of Matitanana to accomplish his purpose. In consequence of these repeated instances of hostility, Resimont made up his cargo as quickly as possible, and sent six more men into Anossy, to the assistance of Pronis, who had removed thither during the absence of the ships.

The colony was, however, finally compelled to submit to an enemy more formidable than the natives or the Portuguese. From the unhealthiness of the situation, Pronis and nearly all his men were attacked with the fever peculiar to the island, and in the space of one month a third part of the garrison died; upon which the remainder, with their leader, repaired precipitately to the peninsula of Taolanara, where the air is more healthy. At this place, about ten

miles from St. Lucia, they built a fort, which they called Dauphin, and which stands in a commanding situation on the south side of the bay of Taolanara, a spot well calculated for the establishment of a colony.

The fort is built 150 feet above the level of the sea, and commands the road; so that no enemy's ship could escape the fire of its batteries; and the landing to it is also rendered difficult by a steep declivity: it is of an oblong form, and enclosed with strong walls of lime and gravel well cemented. The anchorage in the roadstead is excellent, and the harbour is screened by the Isle of St. Clair from the heavy sea-gales, so that the entrance is convenient at all times for large ships.

The bay of St. Lucia lies at the mouth of the river Itapere, on the north side of Taolanara. On the south is the great river Taranty, which is navigable for many miles; and at a short distance from its mouth is the lake of Ambolo, which is fifteen miles in circumference, and forty feet deep.

With the advantages here described, the peninsula of Taolanara was a situation much more favourable to the success of the settlement of Pronis than the rich and fertile valley of Ambolo. Pronis, however, was not a man qualified to maintain the respectability of such an establishment in the eyes of the natives. Weak in mind and indolent in habits, he lost his authority over the troops, who became, in consequence, refractory and licentious. A rebellion was excited against him; and the settlers, seeing no prospect of his governing the colony with firmness and prudence, and fearing the combinations of the native chiefs, arrested, and confined him in irons. His captivity lasted six months, when he was released by a French ship; but he had scarcely resumed the command, when he committed

an act which rendered him in the highest degree hateful to the natives. He was guilty of selling, publicly, to Vander Mester, governor of Mauritius, a number of natives engaged in the service of the French colony; and the circumstance of there being, amongst these people, sixteen women of rank, increased the odium already attached to his name. The unfortunate victims of his reckless cupidity were shipped off in so crowded a state, that the greater part of them died on their passage; and the remaining few, upon arriving at the Mauritius, fled immediately into the woods, where they subsisted ever afterwards in a wild state, eluding all attempts to recapture them.

As soon as the French East India Company were made acquainted with the conduct of Pronis, he was dismissed from his office, and Flacourt appointed in his stead. Flacourt arrived at Fort Dauphin the latter end of September, 1648, and was received in a friendly manner by the chiefs; but his conduct, like that of his predecessors, is said to have been ill adapted to promote a conciliatory spirit. He appears to have aimed at reducing the whole island to a state of subjection; for soon after he arrived, upon some slight provocation, he sent a detachment of eighty men, attended by a large number of armed natives, to lay waste, by fire and sword, the beautiful district of Franchere. Nothing was spared: the houses and huts of the poorer class, as well as those of the Roandrians, with the chief part of their property, were destroyed, and great numbers of their cattle carried away. He sent several parties into the interior, to explore the country, and obtain a knowledge of the customs and manners of the inhabitants; and it is principally to him we are indebted for the description of the state of the natives and the country at that period, his history having been published on his return to France, in 1655.

His return was for the purpose of ascertaining why the East India Company had not sent him the promised supplies; and Pronis, who still remained on the island, and was married to a native woman, was left, during the absence of Flacourt, once more in command.

On his arrival in France, Flacourt found that the East India Company's charter was about to expire, but that the Marshal Meilleraye was desirous of uniting in a continuation of the enterprise at Madagascar. Whether, upon a renewal of the charter, this union actually took place, does not appear in Flacourt's work; he was, however, again appointed governor, and, about the year 1659 set sail, with a valuable cargo, to resume the command; but on his voyage to Madagascar he was overtaken by a violent storm, in which his vessel was wrecked, and himself and all on board perished.

Flacourt appears to have been entirely neglected by the Company during his stay on the island. In the seven years he resided there, he received no supplies, either of forces or provisions, from France; and the settlers generally having failed to insure the affections of the natives, who were kept in subjection solely by the fear with which his military force had impressed them, it was but natural that, after his departure, the French interest in the island should rapidly decline.

In the year 1655, Fort Dauphin was utterly destroyed by fire. Although the manner in which this work of destruction was effected has never been ascertained, there is reason to believe it was done by the natives. The French, however, did not exert themselves to rebuild it until further supplies arrived from their own country, which did not take place until five years afterwards.

The governor appointed by the East India Company to

supply the place of Flacourt was Chamargou, who arrived at the settlement in 1660; and finding the fort destroyed, immediately set about rebuilding it. His next enterprise was to send an officer, with a detachment of troops, to explore the country to the north of Matitanana. This officer, whose real name was Le Vacher, was a native of Rochelle, and possessed talents which qualified him for the enterprise. His assumed name was La Case; and his memory was long held in great respect by the natives, although at the time of his arrival the French were extremely unpopular in Madagascar. The sums expended in establishing the colony had been rendered useless by the impolicy and injustice of the agents; but La Case, by his prudence, energy, and courage, soon restored the reputation of his countrymen; and all his undertakings being attended with success, he was looked up to with fear and admiration by the natives, who gave him the title of Dian* Pousse, one of their own celebrated chiefs, who, it was erroneously reported, had formerly conquered the whole island, and who was still held in veneration by the people. Nor was La Case less distinguished for his moderation and good conduct than for his courage and skill. By these qualities he obtained so completely the ascendency over the Malagasy, that Chamargou, the French governor, became jealous of him; and so powerful were the feelings of envy thus awakened, that instead of commending his faithful discharge of the difficult duties assigned him, he denied him all reward and promotion. Conscious that it was to himself the French were indebted for the recovery of their footing on the island, La Case, disgusted and disappointed at treatment so unjust, formed the resolution of withdrawing from Fort Dauphin.

* A word of the same import as Andriana (prince, noble,) in the interior.

This purpose he effected, with five of his companions in arms, and went over to the sovereign of the province of Ambolo; who, availing himself of his dissatisfaction with his own countrymen, had made proposals to him to remove to his district.

Soon after this, the old chieftain, who was declining in years, took advantage of the partiality of his daughter, Andrian Nong, to offer her in marriage to La Case; and, as the princess possessed many advantages of person and mind, the offered alliance was too eligible to be refused. On the death of the chieftain, which took place soon after this marriage, the princess was proclaimed sovereign of Ambolo; La Case, appropriating to himself no farther advantages than a share in her possessions, which he endeavoured to turn to the generous account of relieving the garrison at Fort Dauphin, at this period again reduced to a state of extreme want.

On the departure of La Case, the governor had set a price upon his head, and those of the five Frenchmen who accompanied him; which so incensed the chiefs residing in the neighbourhood of the Fort, who entertained the highest respect for him, that they entered into a combination, and unanimously refused to supply the colony with provisions. The garrison, wholly unprovided for such an event, was consequently thrown into a state of the greatest distress. Famine, with pestilence, its dreadful accompaniment, were the consequence; and in the course of a few days the colony was reduced to eighty men, with a prospect of being completely annihilated. At this juncture a French frigate, commanded by Captain Kercadio, made its appearance, and relieved them from the state of misery to which they were reduced, and the destruction with which they were threatened.

Kercadio, who appears to have been a brave and sensible man, had the charge of an expedition fitted out for Madagascar at the sole expense of Marshal Meilleraye, for the purpose of endeavouring to establish another colony on the island. On their arrival at Madagascar, however, a number of the men escaped on shore, and joined the garrison at Fort Dauphin, in the hope of freeing themselves from the service to which they were destined, many of them being pressed men.

On learning the cause of the distress in which the garrison at Fort Dauphin was involved, Kercadio, aware that the utmost relief he could afford them must necessarily be of a temporary nature, endeavoured to persuade Chamargou to consult the welfare of his settlement, and seek the friendship of La Case; representing to him that that officer, after his marriage with Andrian Nong, could no longer be considered as a subject of France, and therefore was not amenable to the laws of the colony. No arguments, however, that he could advance, had any weight with the governor, to whose resentment the very existence of the colony seemed on the point of being sacrificed.

It was no unusual circumstance at that period, when such an expedition as that of Kercadio's was about to be fitted out from France, for families to apply to the government, in case there was a dissolute or depraved character belonging to them, for an authority (called lettres-de-cachet) to transport him to some of the new colonies; and it so happened that a barrister, who by this means had been conveyed on board Kercadio's vessel, proved of essential service in bringing the governor to a proper sense of his real situation. The brother of this barrister, an abandoned man, had so highly offended his family, that they applied for a lettre-de-cachet, to attach him to the expedition to

Madagascar; but the barrister himself, who was to undertake the charge of him to Nantz, having been unfortunately inveigled into a gaming-house, was kidnapped instead of his brother, who by paying a sum of money was suffered to escape.

To this gentleman Kercadio applied, and begged him to use his influence in making the governor sensible of his baseness and folly; and what the eloquence of the barrister might have failed to effect, was very easily accomplished by the use he made of his personal interest with Marshal Meilleraye, whose name, at that period, possessed great influence in France. Struck with terror at the threat of having his conduct represented to the Marshal, Chamargou became at once humble and submissive, entreating Kercadio, in the most abject manner, to forgive his obstinacy, and to assist in effecting a reconciliation between himself and La Case. The captain and the barrister accordingly set out for the province of Ambolo, and soon completed their negociations with the generous La Case; who, consigning to oblivion the injuries he had received from the governor, solicited permission from his consort and the combined chiefs to go to the relief of his countrymen at the fort. This reconciliation was followed by the blessings of peace and abundance.

Far from imitating so noble an example, and influenced only by his own fears, the governor, during the stay of La Case and his consort at the Fort, betrayed many symptoms of the hatred and jealousy still rankling in his breast. La Case, by his intimate knowledge of the character of the Malagasy, as well as by his natural friendliness of disposition, soon effected a favourable change in the state of the colony; but the affairs of the province of Ambolo requiring his attention, and Andrian Nong being anxious to return to her own people, they again left the Fort, though earnestly

entreated by all but the governor to prolong their stay. No sooner had they departed, than Chamargou sent a detachment of two hundred, to levy considerable imposts in the province of Anossy, and to subject them to laws never heard of in that country before. This occasioned a fresh war; the consequences of which were rendered more fatal and permanent by circumstances which may be briefly noticed.

It has been already mentioned, that some attempts were made by the Portuguese to introduce the Roman Catholic religion into the island of Madagascar, and that these attempts were followed with but little success. The French were much more assiduous and persevering in their endeavours, but no encouraging measure of success attended their zealous exertions. It is not known in the island at what precise time these labours commenced among the natives, but it is supposed to have been about the year 1642, during the time that Pronis, and his successor, Flacourt, were governors at Fort Dauphin. The zeal of the Catholic missionaries at the station was liberally encouraged by the patronage of the French government, both in the mother country and the colonies, and the religious establishment was formed on a large scale, at least in regard to the number of its labourers.

In the year 1647, when Navarette, a superior of the order of St. Dominic, touched at Madagascar on his way to the Indian islands, he found a bishop, three missionaries, and two lay brethren, with a chapel, monastery, and library They had also made several converts, so far as the initiatory rite of baptism constituted them such. Many hundreds of the natives, it is said, had submitted to that ordinance, although few were known to exhibit any of the important signs of conversion. The state of morals, both amongst

the native converts and French settlers, was extremely lax, and afforded to the inhabitants of the island very unfavourable specimens of the influence of the new religion. A Malagasy catechism on some of the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion, was composed and published for the use of the young converts, and especially in their preparation for baptism. Some copies remain to the present time, interlined with French and Latin. A few other small introductory works were prepared by the Catholic missionaries, and published at the isles of France and Bourbon. Vocabularies were also composed at the same period, not, however, affording by any means a correct view of the language. It is said that some of the colonists composed other vocabularies, which were never printed. Of these, some are preserved in the archives of Bourbon, and others by private individuals in that colony and the Mauritius. There exists also a rude sketch of a grammar in a very imperfect state.

Amongst the Roman Catholic missionaries who were most active in the propagation of their faith, was Father Stephen, an ecclesiastic of the order of St. Lazarus, and superior of the mission to Madagascar. To this man, Andrian Monango, the sovereign of the province of Mandraney, a high-spirited and powerful chief, and a faithful ally of the French, had given a most distinguished and cordial reception at his own residence.

According to the testimony of Rochon, the amiable qualities and good disposition of this chieftain encouraged Father Stephen to entertain the most sanguine hopes of success in a resolution he had formed of converting this powerful native to the Catholic faith. But Manango, who had treated Father Stephen with much kindness, frankly told him, that all his efforts to induce him to

embrace his religion, must prove unavailing; and as a private statement to this effect was not deemed sufficient, he summoned his family together, and openly assured the missionary, in their presence, of his firm and unalterable resolution to adhere to the customs of his ancestors.

Father Stephen had especially represented to the chief the evil and sinfulness of polygamy, a point on which a Malagasy noble would be likely to be extremely jealous of interference, as involving, according to his ideas, among other considerations, his dignity and honour.

The chief naturally refused to follow the advice of the priest, and informed him that he could not change the customs of his country. The priest's reply to the chief was simply a peremptory order to dismiss from his house all his wives but one; with a threat, that unless he promptly complied, the French would seize all his wives, and compel him to obedience.

Such was the surprise and indignation excited by this arrogant and unlooked-for denunciation, that a general attack was commenced upon the offending party, and, but for the timely interference of the chieftain, it is more than probable that Father Stephen would have been murdered on the spot. Suppressing his own indignation, the chief exerted all his authority to obtain a private interview with the monk for a few moments; when, after requesting the space of fifteen days to consider of the proposition respecting his conversion, he dismissed him with some presents, and assurances of respect.

The object in gaining this delay, was, that he might have an opportunity of withdrawing from the province of Mandraney, in case the French should attempt to execute the threat of Father Stephen. He therefore set off as soon as the monk had left him, to seek an asylum for him-

self, his wives, and his slaves, in the province of Machicores, now known as Tsienimbalala.

No sooner had Father Stephen become acquainted with the chieftain's design and place of retreat, than, in defiance of the remonstrances of Chamargou and the advice of La Case, he rashly determined to follow him; and, accordingly, he commenced his crusade, invested with his sacerdotal habit, and accompanied by a few attendants.

After encountering many difficulties and suffering much fatigue, sufficient to have subdued a less determined zeal, he reached the chieftain's residence during the first week in Lent, 1664. The chief, who advanced towards his former friend without the least sign of alarm or indignation, with great urbanity requested Father Stephen to renounce his project; assuring him that he could not accede to his wishes of embracing the Christian faith.

On this assurance, the monk, with the enthusiasm of a lunatic, rather than the sobriety of a messenger of the gospel of peace, seized the odies (the amulets worn by the chieftain as sacred things), dashed them insultingly into the fire, and then declared war against him.

The result was such as might have been anticipated. The forbearance and moderation of the chief had hitherto been proof against the pertinacity of the monk; but such accumulated insults were no longer to be borne, and he ordered Father Stephen and his attendants to be massacred on the spot; at the same time swearing to effect the destruction of all the French in the island. In order to put this determination into execution, he sent his son, who had been baptised, to his brother-in-law, La Vautangue, for the purpose of inducing him to unite in breaking off the yoke of the French, whose designs they looked upon as directed to the subversion of the laws and usages of their country.

He assured him that his insulted ody had commanded him to defend these at the peril of his life, and that victory was certain over an enemy who had dared to commit such criminal excesses. He likewise informed him that Chamargou had sent forty Frenchmen to the eastern coast, whom he might easily surprise and destroy.

No sooner had La Vautangue put himself upon his guard, than he felt the advantage of the information thus conveyed to him. Two days after the arrival of his nephew, his spies brought tidings that the French had pitched their camp at the distance of only one league from the village where he resided. He instantly despatched a messenger to make them an offer of provisions, and begged them to make known to him the purpose of their journey; to which La Forge, who commanded the detachment, replied, that he had orders to subject the country to the French domination. Alarmed at this declaration, La Vautangue offered him four hundred bullocks as the price of peace; and represented that his country was too far from Fort Dauphin for him to have done any thing to draw down the resentment of the colony. La Forge, rejecting this offer, fixed the price of peace at twenty thousand bullocks. To this demand La Vautangue returned no answer; but while the French were ravaging a plantation of sugarcanes, he ordered them all to be massacred; and the only person who escaped with life was a Portuguese.

This man took refuge in a marsh covered with reeds, where he remained in concealment for two days; when the islanders, who were afraid to venture to him in the water, set fire to the reeds, and drove him out; but taking advantage of the smoke, he eluded his pursuers, and succeeded in reaching Fort Dauphin, where he communicated the melancholy tidings of the fate of his companions.

Instead of adopting such a mode of policy as might even then have averted the dangers threatened to the colony, the governor resolved to revenge the death of his countrymen by carrying fire and sword into the interior of the country. Putting himself at the head of forty Frenchmen and a body of Manamboslese, while Father Manuer, the only surviving priest, carried the bloody banner, he set out on his barbarous expedition. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hands; but in every village that lay in his way, men, women, and children were murdered without distinction. The deserted dwelling of Manango was razed to the ground; and such was the desolation that marked his course, as to fix infamy and execration on his character in connexion with the transactions of that campaign.

The natives, seeing no hope of successfully opposing his march, took care to remove every thing that could contribute to the support of the invaders: and thus situated, Chamargou at last found himself under the necessity of returning to Fort Dauphin, from the want of provisions. While about to pass the river Mandrare, Andrian Manongo, who had been watching his motions, appeared on the opposite bank, wearing the cloak and cap of Father Stephen, while with an army of six thousand men he disputed the passage of the French. The fate of the colony would have been determined at this juncture but for the seasonable arrival of La Case, accompanied by ten Frenchmen, and three thousand natives, subjects of Andrian Nong. This brave officer, instantly plunging into the river, attacked Manango, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers; and such was the terror inspired by his name, that the opposing army was instantly put to flight. The chief himself would have fallen a sacrifice, had not Rabaze, a courageous chief,

who was strongly attached to his interest, thrown himself in the way, and thus given his own life to save that of his sovereign. Night put an end to the slaughter; and the French, under cover of darkness, made the best of their way to Fort Dauphin. Here they were safe from the attacks of the natives; who annoyed them, perhaps, more effectually, by withholding the usual supplies of provisions, and cutting off those which came from distant quarters. At this time a formidable army was again collected by Andrian Manango, around Fort Dauphin; and the presence of such a body of men would soon have reduced the garrison to starvation, had not La Case found means to supply them with five thousand bullocks.

Thus they were again saved from destruction by that extraordinary man, whose enterprises were so frequently crowned with success; nor is it easy to do justice to the prudence, courage, and presence of mind which distinguished his conduct on every occasion. The fame of his successes recommended him so powerfully to the French East India Company, that, finding it expedient to employ him in their service, they sent him a lieutenant's commission, and made him a present of a sword, with congratulations on his fortunate career. For these marks of confidence and favour, La Case returned thanks to the Company; and pledged himself, that, if they would send him a force of two hundred Frenchmen, he would conquer the whole island, and establish the permanent authority of the French government in Madagascar.

Whether La Case really possessed the means of accomplishing this design must remain undecided, his offer being very properly rejected by the East India Company; but that his ambition had gained the mastery over the many generous and commendable traits of character he had pre-

viously exhibited, was sufficiently proved by the nature of this proposal.

It appears that the body of the unfortunate Father Stephen, for which diligent search was made, was never found; and with his unsuccessful endeavours, followed by the breaking up of the establishment at Fort Dauphin, terminated the labours of the Roman Catholic mission, leaving a most unfavourable impression as to the nature of Christianity upon the minds of the natives, not only in the part of the country where these transactions took place, but wherever the report of them was circulated; and this has been more widely than the parties themselves ever contemplated. By these misguided measures, an extreme jealousy of religious interference was engendered, and it will be long before the memory of deeds so decidedly inimical to the genuine spirit of Christianity can be effaced.

If, however, an unfavourable impression of Roman Catholic missionaries were left in the minds of the discerning, shrewd, and jealous Malagasy, an idea equally unfavourable appears to have been excited and perpetuated amongst the French, as to the possible conversion of these, as they regarded them, most incorrigible islanders.

When the Protestant Missionaries proceeding to Madagascar in 1818, touched at Bourbon on their way, they were strongly advised by many high in office to relinquish so hopeless an object—so decidedly preposterous an undertaking. "Render the Malagasy Christians!" said they, "Impossible! They are but beasts. They have no more reason than brutes; they are not capable of thinking and reasoning. They are not endowed with the capacities of human beings in general. The French have long tried them, and cannot discover any capacity—any talent among them."

Such were the repeated testimonies given by the French to the result of their own trial of the intellectual and moral qualities of the pitiable inhabitants of Madagascar. And yet, actuated by a strange inconsistency of feeling, no sooner were the Protestant Missionaries settled at the capital of the island, and about to commence their work, than the superior of the Catholics of Bourbon wrote to Radama, recommending the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion as the best for kings and princes, as well as for the good of their subjects, and requesting to send a body of priests to be maintained "out of the king's meat," who might instruct his people in useful knowledge and Christianity.

This officious zeal to instruct those who had been pronounced incapable of instruction, found but little encouragement on the part of Radama. His policy would, no doubt, expose him to the charge of being obstinately determined to continue in the darkness of heathen superstition; but risking all this, he simply replied, that having entered into a treaty with Protestant England, he would hereafter admit no Missionaries into his dominions but those who belonged to the Protestant religion.

About the same period, Radama took occasion to speak of Father Stephen in the south of the island, and declared that he would never allow his subjects to be instructed in Christianity by any other means than those of persuasion, and the diffusion of learning to enlighten their minds. A noble recognition of a fundamental principle in sound legislation—that where compulsion begins, religion ends.

In the year 1666, the French East India Company having extended their views, appointed the marquis de Mondevergue to the general command of all the French settlements situated beyond the equinoctial line. This of course included Madagascar, which place was appointed the seat

of his government. Thither he set sail in a frigate of thirty-six guns, followed by a fleet of nine vessels, having on board La Fage and Caron, directors of the East India trade, an attorney-general, four companies of infantry, ten chiefs of colonies, eight merchants, and thirty-two women.

The fleet arrived at Fort Dauphin on the 10th of March, 1667, and the marquis immediately caused himself to be acknowledged admiral and governor of the French territories in the East. His first step was to effect a reconciliation with Dion Monango, a chief too powerful to be despised. By the assistance of La Case this was accomplished, and the chief swore obedience and fidelity to the governor-general. A regular supply of provisions was thus ensured to the colony, and their future prospects were rendered more encouraging.

Caron, who was a Dutchman, did not long remain in the island, but sailed, with a great part of the fleet, to take the management of Surat.

La Fage continued at Fort Dauphin; and in Nov. 1670, another fleet, of ten ships, arrived, commanded by M. de la Haye, captain of the Navarre, a vessel of 56 guns. All these ships belonged to the king, to whom the East India Company had now transferred the sovereignty of Madagascar, and were well equipped with the war complement of arms and men. Upon his arrival, La Haye was proclaimed admiral and general, with the authority of viceroy. Chamargou was appointed second in command, La Case major of the island. The Marquis Mondevergue, having the option of remaining in the island as governor, or of returning to France, chose the latter. From what he saw of La Haye, he appears to have been convinced that harmony could not be expected with him; the wisdom and moderation of his own conduct but ill according with the warlike and arbitrary

disposition of the other. He therefore chose to retire, and set sail for France in 1671; but he had no sooner arrived at Fort Louis, than a commissary demanded of him an account of his conduct. He now found that La Haye had sent home complaints against him, which had induced the company to take this step. The marquis defended himself with great spirit, and the public voice was in his favour: but his enemies were too powerful; he fell a victim to their machinations, and died a prisoner at the castle of Saumur.

Under La Haye, who possessed unlimited authority, the government of the island was conducted in a totally opposite spirit. Determined to get rid of those chiefs who did not acknowledge his authority, he joined with Chamargou and La Case in summoning Andrian Ramousay to surrender to the French all the arms in his possession, or to prepare for war. This demand being spurned by the chief with disdain, La Case and Chamergou were ordered to besiege him in his village; which order they promptly obeyed, advancing against him with 700 French and 600 Malagasy. The attack was, however, unsuccessful. Andrian Ramousay made so vigorous and gallant a resistance, that the French were obliged to retire with considerable loss. It was the general opinion that the treacherous Chamargou, piqued at being second in command where he had hitherto governed alone, and moreover not relishing his coalition with La Case, whom he had formerly treated so ill, had contrived this defeat. Whether this was correct or not, La Haye was so disgusted at the supposed treachery of Chamargou, that he resolved to abandon Fort Dauphin, and to retire with his forces to Surat, first touching at the Isle of Bourbon.

His departure was shortly after followed by the death of La Case, whose name alone kept the island in subjection to the French. Their yoke had become odious and intolerable

to the Malagasy, who only waited a suitable opportunity to retaliate upon their oppressors the injuries and cruelties they had sustained.

Chamargou did not long survive La Case; and to him succeeded his son-in-law, La Bretesche, a man neither endowed with the talents, nor enjoying the respect, paid to his predecessor in command. Finding it impossible to maintain his authority amidst the troubles which divided the French and the natives, he embarked in a ship for Surat; his family, several missionaries, and some of the French following his example. The ship had no sooner left the road, than the crew perceived a signal of distress on shore. The captain immediately sent off his boats, which succeeded in rescuing the few unhappy individuals remaining, after a dreadful massacre effected by Dion Romousay and the neighbouring chiefs, who congratulated themselves on being once more free from the presence of their invaders.

The attention of our own countrymen, as well as those of other nations, appears to have been directed to Madagascar soon after the period of its discovery. It is mentioned by Flacourt, that in 1642 the English had a military establishment at St. Augustine's Bay, consisting of 200 men, of whom one-fourth were carried off by the effects of the climate in the space of two years. But neither the insalubrity of the climate, nor the disasters of the early French settlers, appear to have deterred other nations, and among them our own, from directing a large measure of their attention to Madagascar, with a view to the establishment of a colony on its shores.

In the early part of the reign of Charles the First, notwithstanding the troubles in which Great Britain was at that time involved, the government, and many of the merchants, seem to have been frequently occupied in planning

the formation of new settlements in different parts of the world; and amongst the countries deemed most advantageous for this purpose, the island of Madagascar held a prominent place. Some interest seems to have been excited in the public mind by the report of this island given by an embassy from England to the king of Persia; and amongst the accounts of voyagers and others who had visited Madagascar, the following by Richard Boothby, merchant of London, affords important evidence of the supposed advantages that would result from a British settlement in the island.

Mr. Boothby gives the following reasons for publishing his account:—"Forasmuch as great talk and rumour hath happened this last spring, 1644, about divers of his majesty's subjects adventuring to Madagascar or St. Lawrence, in Asia, near unto the East Indies, and there to plant themselves, as in other parts of America; and seeing some, by report, are already gone upon that voyage, and myself have been desirous to deliver my opinion thereof, in regard of my being and abode upon that island three months or more together; as, first, about eleven or twelve years past, by the right worshipful Dr. Henry Gouch, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who himself, in his passage into Persia, in company with the right honourable Sir Dodmore Cotton and Sir Robert Sherley, ambassadors from king Charles of England to the king of Persia, was in that country, whom I satisfied, the best I could, out of those brief notes I had taken, not expecting to have been inquired my opinion thereof, for, otherwise, I would have been more exact and diligent in my observations. Secondly, about six or seven years past, the honourable Endymion Porter, and that excellent gentleman, Captain John Bond, well affected to that plantation, desired me to give him

some of my observations in writing, (it being at that time when the right honourable the Earl of Arundel, and other honourable persons, intended to persuade Prince Rupert to undertake that business;) which, no doubt, had he performed, would have been more effectual to God's glory, more advantageous, and more honourable and beneficial unto himself and his brethren, than to countenance a civil war in this kingdom. I also gave Mr. Porter some of the savages' weapons, as darts, and a knife about two feet long, the blade and haft together being much of an equal length; and also a curious India painted bow and arrows, with a quiver lined with crimson velvet, for all which they offered to bring me to his majesty, to kiss his hand; but I refused, not thinking my present worthy so great an honour, and therefore desired to be excused. Thirdly, because I understand that Mr. Walter Hammond, surgeon, who was, at the time of my last being at Madagascar, with us in company, hath lately written a book of the worthiness of that country, and the benefit thereof, to the encouragement of adventurers, and dedicated the same to that same worthy gentleman, Captain John Bond, which yet I have not seen. I have, for the reasons premised, adventured to deliver my opinion in writing to public view, though rudely, being far inferior in such abilities to that honest, able person, Mr. Hammond, to the further encouragement of the worthy adventurers and planters that shall think fit to adventure their purses and persons in that excellent and famous action; and, perhaps, I may hit upon such inducements, by way of trade or commerce, more proper to my vocation, as may give more encouragement for the proceedings herein, than in any other already settled in the ports of America.

"It is, in my humble opinion, very possible, that whatsoever prince of Christendom is once really possessed of, and strongly settled in that brave, fruitful, and pleasant island, by computation three times as big as England, may with ease be emperor or sole monarch of the East Indies, with all the multitude of its rich and large kingdoms; which, no doubt, but the eyes of many European princes are fixed upon, but that great disturbances in most parts thereof, as at present unhappily in England, hinder and give impediments to their wished designs, which, in zeal to God's glory, my gracious sovereign's honour, and my native country's welfare and prosperity, I from the bottom of my heart wish that some more learned and persuasive pen than mine, rude and ignorant, might prevail with his gracious majesty, king Charles, the right honourable high court of parliament, and all true-hearted able persons of the nobility, gentry, &c. to take in hand, even in these obstructive times, to adventure each man some small proportion of means throughout this kingdom, which, though but small to every particular person, yet, undoubtedly, would amount to a very considerable sum of money, sufficient to undertake that action as a business of state. That I may give the best advice and encouragement in this affair, that my weak capacity will allow, I shall descend to the following particulars."

The writer then expatiates at considerable length upon "the healthfulness of the island, Augustine's Bay, a chief and excellent harbour for multitudes of ships, and the pleasantness and fertility of the country," which he calls "a second land of Canaan, or paradise of the world."

Allusion has already been made, on the authority of Rochon, to the injudicious attempts of Father Stephen to

propagate his own faith amongst the people of Madagascar, and the testimony of Boothby corroborates the suspicion that a strong prejudice had been excited in the minds of the natives by similar means.

Speaking of one of the kings or chieftains of the island, with whom Boothby and his party held friendly intercourse, he says, "By this king's discourse, we found how cruel the Portuguese had been to them, coming ashore, and carrying men, women, and children away by force: they cannot endure the Portuguese, telling me how they betrayed them with pictures."

"At any time, when our seamen showed a picture to truck (barter) for a sheep, or the like, they started back, and ran away, crying out, 'Portuguese, Portuguese, Portuguese!' for they could not endure images. But, at the northernmost part of the island, there were priests and friars who lived with them for a time, thinking to convert them: the king of that place departed this life, and the natives of the country put the friars and priests to death, first telling them the reason was, because they were religious men, and ought to keep the king company to God."

After this follows a description of the various recommendations of St. Augustine's Bay, which the writer relates he visited many times, adding, "I presented Mr. Endymion Porter with some novelties which I got at this bay, viz., tortoise-shells that he promised to make himself combs with; I also gave him some dragon's blood, and divers sorts of other gums; after which, he sent his coach for me, and carried me to the council-board. Prince Rupert was there at that time, and I then declared my opinion, and since too; which business was concluded upon, and past the board-seal, for the island of St. Lawrence."

The writer next sets forth "the praise of the island com-

parable to the land of Canaan;" and in his various plans and propositions for turning the possession of the island to good account, is one, which while it marks the political feeling of the times, is too curious to be omitted.

"It is a great pity," observes Mr. Boothby, "that so pleasant and plentiful a country should not be inhabited by civilized people, or rather Christians; and that so brave a nation, as to person and countenance, only black or tawny, should be so blindly led in their devotions, being, as some suppose, Mahometans, in regard to their manner and custom of circumcision; or rather, as some suppose, descended from Abraham. A happy thing it were, both for them and this kingdom, if that project had, or should go forward, which a gentleman in Huntingdonshire, bred a merchant, in love told me, which he heard from others, or rather, as I understood it, from bishop Moreton's own mouth, that if the bishops of England, lately dismissed from voting in parliament, and tyrannizing in temporal authority, should still continue in disrespect with the king and parliament, they, or most part of them, would go and plant a colony in Madagascar, and endeavour to reduce those ignorant souls to Christianity. God grant that, by them or others, such a pious design may speedily take effect."

The writer then goes on to describe "the cheapness of all sorts of food in Madagascar; the accommodation and means for dairies, brewing of beer, and powdering of meat for ships at sea; the means to make saltpetre cheaper than in India or elsewhere; how all sorts of excellent materials for building to be had in Madagascar; how poor artificers may live by their labours, in all sorts of manufacture, and outstrip all nations of the world for the fame of the same; and how trade and commerce, to and from Madagascar, may excel in profit all others whatsoever."

These, and a vast number of other supposed advantages, appear to have occupied the serious consideration of many merchants and other persons in Great Britain at that period. So much so, that, according to Mr. Boothby, it was agreed at the council-board that Prince Rupert should go as viceroy for Madagascar. He was to have twelve sail from king Charles, and thirty merchant-men to attend him to the plantation, and to have supplies yearly sent out from England. It was likewise agreed upon, and a charge given to the governor, Sir Maurice Abbot, Sir Henry Garway, and others of the committee of the honourable East India Company, to give all their loving assistance and furtherance to Prince Rupert in this design, whensoever he came into Asia or India, and all other parts adjacent to the island of Madagascar.

"I was present," says Mr. Boothby, "when this was ordered at the council-table; and the charge given to the aforesaid governor and committee of the East India Company: but Prince Rupert going into France and Germany about his weighty affairs, in the mean time it was thought fit, and concluded upon, that the Earl of Arundel, earl marshal of England, should go governor for Madagascar, it being the most famous place in the world for a magazine.

"This noble earl," says the same writer, "hath written a book to that purpose, and allowed weekly means of subsistence to divers seamen, who have good judgment and experience all over the Oriental seas, and at Madagascar. This honourable earl was in such resolution and readiness, that there were printed bills put up on the pillars of the Royal Exchange, and in other parts of the city, that abundantly shewed his forwardness in promoting a plantation in Madagascar; but a new parliament being called, it put a stop to the design of Madagascar."

CHAP. II.

Shipwreck of Robert Drury on the island in the year 1702—His description of the first appearance and behaviour of the natives—Massacre of his shipmates—His own reduction to slavery—Habits of the people at that time in the province of Androy—His journey to St. Augustine's Bay—Receives tidings from his father in London—Conduct of the chiefs at his departure—His early return to Madagascar as a slave-dealer—Resort of the pirates to Madagascar—Their settlements on the coast—Captain Kid—Settlement of Libertatia—Capture of pilgrims going to Mecca—Conflicts with Portuguese ships of war on the coast of Madagascar—Destruction of the pirate settlement—Treatment of the natives by the pirates—Destruction of the ships of the latter by the European powers in 1721—The pirates employed in promoting war among the natives for the purpose of obtaining their captives as slaves—Foreign assistance given to the natives in these wars—Notice of Captain North—Tamsimalo—John Harre—French settlement in the Isle of St. Mary's about 1745—Destruction of the colony by the natives—Retaliation of the French—Restoration of peace—Ratification of the treaty between the natives and the French—Trade of the French at Foule Point—Aggression of John Harre—Conduct and recall of Bigorne—Death of John Harre—Return of Bigorne.

A STRONG contrast to the highly coloured picture of Madagascar given by Mr. Boothby, is found in the history of Robert Drury, who from the year 1702 until 1717 was detained in that country as a slave; and whose plain statement of the facts which fell under his notice, though partaking of the superstitious notions and erroneous opinions of the natives, throws considerable light upon the history of the island during the period now under review.

Many scenes passed under the observation of Drury, connected with the interior of the country, and the civil and

domestic condition of the natives, which wholly escaped the notice of those whose acquaintance with the island was more casual and transient; these appear to be faithfully described, though his own feelings under his protracted captivity must have cast a sombre shadow over every object presented to his view.

By his own simple and graphic account, he appears to have received but a partial education, to have left his home in very early life, as many other romantic and wayward youths have done, for the purpose of seeking his fortune at sea. He feelingly quotes the old adage, *that wilful persons never want wo*, the truth of which he fully verified in the commencement of his adventurous career. In the fourteenth year of his age he embarked as a passenger on board a ship bound for the East Indies. He sailed from London in the year 1701.

It was on his return from Bengal, that the ship De Grave received considerable damage by running aground; and though little was thought of the accident at the time, the ship became so leaky as to endanger the lives of the crew, and to reduce them to the necessity of making for the coast of Madagascar, where it became a total wreck. A large portion of the crew and passengers escaped from the wreck, and reached the shore in the province of Androy, near the southern point of the island; but they were afterwards dispersed, and little is known of their subsequent history. Drury, after suffering almost every kind of privation and distress, became a domestic slave, and as such passed from the hands of one proprietor to another, sometimes experiencing kindness, but more frequently being treated in a manner, which, though not regarded as cruel by his masters, must often have imbittered the regrets with which he remembered his reckless desertion of his own pleasant home.

The first impression made upon his mind by the appearance and conduct of the natives, is described, in the following extracts, with all the feeling of a young and inexperienced adventurer, who had not counted the cost, or calculated the dangers to which his own wilfulness had exposed him.

"The country began now to be alarmed, and we had already two or three hundred negroes flocking around us, picking up several pieces of silk and fine calicoes: the muslin they had little regard for. Our goods were driven ashore in whole bales; for, what with saltpetre and other things, we reckoned there might be three hundred tons left, after all that was thrown overboard at sundry times before.

"One of the negroes brought an ox to us, and intimated by sundry signs that we should kill him; but we made signs to them again to shoot him for us, we having no ammunition: when one of them perceived this, he lent us his gun, ready charged, and with it one of our men shot the bullock on the spot.

"It was extremely shocking to see the negroes cut the beast, skin and flesh together, and sometimes the entrails also, then toss them into the fire or ashes, as it happened, and eat them half roasted. I shuddered for fear they should devour us in like manner; for they seemed to me to be a kind of cannibals, of whom I had heard very dreadful stories. Every thing, in short, appeared horrible to nature, and excited in us the most dismal apprehensions."

The melancholy fate of that portion of the ship's crew with which Drury was associated when he reached the shore, more than confirmed some of his worst fears. The chief who ruled over that part of the island where they were wrecked, having most probably some real or supposed injury to revenge upon the white people, had them all

bound and brought before him, when they were all butchered in the most barbarous manner; Drury alone being permitted to live, for the purpose of attending upon the grandson of the chief in the capacity of a slave.

It was not long, however, before the natural buoyancy of youth overcame the melancholy feelings of the captive, so far as to enable him to derive amusement from the peculiar habits and superstitions of the people around him, and, in many instances, to turn them to better account.

It is stated by Drury, and confirmed by another writer,* that in certain parts of the island the office of slaughtering the cattle is deemed so honourable as to be appropriated by the nobility; Drury had very willingly assented to the supposition that he was the captain's son, and therefore a person of rank; hence he was treated with more consideration than slaves of humbler origin, and at length was appointed to the honour of slaughtering cattle, from which he derived considerable benefit. His own supply of provisions was thus augmented, and more regularly obtained than was practicable in the state of insecurity and predatory warfare in which his several masters lived.

Like other domestic slaves, his office, in times of peace, was chiefly that of tending his master's cattle, and driving them to water, for which they were frequently sent a distance of six or seven miles: digging wild yams was another of his occupations, besides which, he rendered himself very skilful in the management of bees and honey. Whether from these qualifications, or from the prevalent ideas, not only that he was a person of rank, but that white people ought never to be held in bondage, Drury enjoyed many advantages as a slave, and was so highly

* Author of the "Loss of the Winterton."

esteemed, that the possession of his services was often the subject of envy amongst the chieftains of that part of the country. These circumstances, however, could not lighten the yoke of his captivity, and his constant endeavour was to find some means of escape to the sea-shore, where he hoped to meet with a vessel in which he might escape.

Sometimes the rigours of his lot were rendered more tolerable by this hope brightening almost into certainty, as he listened to those who spoke of the different sea-ports accessible from the neighbourhood in which he was detained; but often before he could make any attempt to reach one of these ports, the results of war plunged him into the deepest despair, by placing him in the power of a more vigilant master, or removing him, along with the chieftain he served, to some district more remote from the sea.

Encouraged by the prospect of reaching St. Augustine's Bay, he made more than one bold and adventurous attempt to escape from his masters. On one occasion, after pursuing his lonely course for many days, attended with almost incredible hardships, just as the hope of final success was gaining advantage over the fear of detection, he came to the banks of a river, so wide and deep as to present an almost insurmountable barrier to his progress.

"As I was searching," he observes, in his unvarnished narrative, "for a proper place to wade through, or swim over, I spied a large alligator: I still walked upon the banks, and in a short time saw three more. This was a mortifying stroke, and almost dispirited me. I went on until I came to a shallower place, where I entered the river about ten yards; but seeing an alligator make towards me, I ran directly back. He pursued me until I got into very shallow water, and then he turned back into the deep,

for they will never attack a man near the shore. It nettled me to be stopped by a river that was scarcely a hundred yards over. At length I recollected that in the neighbourhood of Bengal, where there are the largest alligators in the world, fires are often made at the head and stern of the boat, so that they pass the rivers in safety. Distress puts a man's invention upon the rack: something, thought I, like this must be done; for it was to no purpose to stay there, neither could I go back. So making choice of a stick for a firebrand, I cut it into long splinters, and waited till it grew dark; then, after I had bound my two fire-sticks to the top of one of my lances, I went into the water, and, recommending myself to the care of Providence, turned upon my back, and swam over, with my two lances and hatchet in one hand, and my fire-brand burning in the other, my lamba being twisted and tied fast about my loins."

At last the welcome sight of St. Augustine's Bay, with its road, where ships were wont to touch, presented itself to the weary and solitary traveller, as he stood on the summit of a hill of considerable elevation. It does not appear, however, that any means of escape from the country were available at that time; for he was obliged to place himself under the protection of a chieftain who had formerly shown him kindness, and who required his service in the wars in which he was then engaged.

It is worthy of remark, that although the pirates are generally considered to be the originators of the slave-trade in Madagascar, and, on the authority of Rochon, a circumstantial statement of the first commencement of this nefarious traffic is given in the following pages, more than one account occurs in Drury's narrative, of cases in which the barter of men for foreign goods is spoken of as the cus-

tomary trade of the country, even at that time. Drury was informed by a person who had lived a considerable time in the country, that to a place called Masseelege, (probably the Methelege of the pirates,) to the northward, there came, once a year, a Moorish ship, that brought silk lambas and many other things to trade for slaves. And again, towards the conclusion of the term of his captivity, he speaks of two ships staying at Youngoule, where slaves were sent to be sold in exchange for fire-arms and other goods. It seems probable, however, that these were but occasional visits, made chiefly by marauding vessels; and that it was not, as stated by Rochon, until after the vessels of the pirates had been destroyed, that this commerce in human beings became a regular and organized system of barbarous traffic in the island.

Whilst Drury was residing at a seaport on the western coast, called Youngoule, an English ship, the Clapham galley, Captain Wilks commander, arrived there to take in a cargo of slaves; and a number were accordingly taken down to the coast to be sold. The master whom Drury served at that time was collecting slaves for this purpose; and he, delighted with the idea of thus escaping from the country, engaged a friend to intercede with his master and mistress that he might be sold with the rest; but being a prisoner of war, and probably too highly prized for his services, he was denied the privilege of being sold with the native slaves.

Before the ship set sail, however, Drury (to use his own words) "endeavoured to inform the captain by this stratagem: I took a leaf, which was about two inches broad and a foot and a half long, and marked upon it these words: 'Robert Drury, son of Mr. Drury, living at the King's Head in the Old Jewry, now a slave in the island of Mada-

gascar, in the country of Youngoule.' I desired the favour of one who was going to the sea-side, to deliver this leaf to the first white man he saw; and when he returned, I asked him what answer he had brought. 'None at all,' replied he; 'for I suppose the white man did not like it, since he threw the leaf away, though I am sure it was as good, if not better, than that which you gave me: it is true I *dropped your's*, but then I pulled one of the best I could find off a tree.'" "My heart," says Drury, "was ready to break at this disappointment; whereupon I turned from him, and went directly into the woods to give vent to my tears."

Some years after this bitter disappointment, Drury obtained his long-wished-for liberation; and the circumstances of this event are best described in his own words. Aware that two ships were then waiting for slaves at Youngoule, every intelligence respecting them obtained an interest in his mind, such as none but a captive could have experienced; and he feelingly relates the circumstances of his final escape from slavery in the following words:—

"I was sitting with my master one evening, when two men came in with a basket of palmetta leaves sewed up, and delivered it to the chief, who opened it, and finding a letter, asked the men what they meant by giving him that? 'The captain,' they said, 'gave it us for your white man, but we thought proper to let you see it first.' 'Pray,' said the chief, 'give it all to him. Here, Robin, your countrymen have sent you a present; what it is I do not know, but to me it appears of very little value.' Accordingly I took the basket; and with the letter there were pens, ink, and paper, in order to my returning an answer. The superscription was this:—'*To Robert Drury, in the island of Madagascar.*'

"I was so astonished, that at first I had not power to open it, concluding I was in a dream; but at length recovering my surprise, after a little recollection I opened it, and found it came from Captain William Macket: the contents were to the effect following:—

"That he had a letter on board from my father, with full instructions, as well from him as the owners of the vessel, to purchase my liberty, let it cost what it would; and, in case I could not possibly come down myself, to send him word the reason of it, and what measures he should take to serve me."

The chief was astonished to see the change in Drury's countenance as he read the letter; and when informed of the intelligence it conveyed, his surprise appeared unbounded; and, as he examined the paper, he said that he had heard before of such a method of conveying information, but was wholly at a loss to conceive how it could be done without witchcraft: a feeling exactly coinciding with the impression made on the minds of the Society and Sandwich islanders, when they first witnessed the transmission of intelligence by means of writing.

It was not without considerable persuasion and many entreaties, that the chieftain and his family could be induced to part with the English slave; but it was at last agreed upon that he should be permitted to go with the captain, on condition that the latter would provide the chief with a good gun, which he promised to call Robin, in remembrance of his slave.

The joy experienced by Drury on his happy liberation exceeded all bounds; though the novelty of his feelings, after fifteen years' captivity among a barbarous people, rendered his situation almost too strange and exciting for enjoyment. He returned to England with Captain Macket,

and on the 9th of September, 1717, again reached the shores of his native country, after an absence of sixteen years. It is stated by Drury, in his own account of this joyful event, that, after landing, he could not set forward on his journey to London without returning God thanks, in the most solemn manner, for his safe arrival, and for his deliverance from the many dangers he had escaped, and the miseries he had so long endured.

After the expression of such feelings, and especially after perusing the history of his protracted sufferings, it is equally melancholy and astonishing to see Robert Drury (the most unlikely of all men to be engaged in the same cruel system of oppression by which he had himself been held in such degrading bondage) embarking, in less than two years after his return to England, as a slave-dealer for Madagascar, and, by his own testimony, using all his knowledge of the country in directing captains and others to the places where the unhappy captives, whom he was dooming to a harder lot than he had suffered, were likely to be obtained in the greatest numbers! He appears to have made extensive purchases in slaves; and, after a residence of more than a year in the island, proceeded to Virginia, in North America, and there disposed of his miserable cargo.

The conduct of the pirates, in promoting war for the purpose of obtaining slaves, which was so long the most terrible scourge of Madagascar, has been universally stamped with infamy, and their proceedings in encouraging this inhuman traffic are justly and naturally associated with all that is reprobate in character and fiendish in cruelty, and it might seem congenial employment to men accustomed to destroy the lives of all who possessed the wealth of which they were in search; but the conduct of Drury, who in many respects might be regarded as an

honest-hearted Englishman, and who had so recently escaped from a bondage, all the bitterness of which he had so often tasted, makes a most affecting addition to the painfully-abounding evidence of the universality of false opinion and depraved feeling among our own countrymen at the time, as well as of the dreadful effects of the abhorred system of slavery on all who are brought under its influence.

After the abandonment of Fort Dauphin by Bretesche, and the consequent destruction of the garrison, the intercourse between Europeans and the inhabitants of Madagascar was for a considerable time merely casual. Ships from Europe, bound to India, usually touched at the island for a supply of provisions, but no attempt was made to establish a colony; and but few events relating to the country, at all worthy of notice, transpired until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the pirates, who, from the time when Vasco di Gama opened the highway from Europe to India, had infested the Indian seas, formed an establishment at the Isle St. Mary's, situated off the north-east coast of Madagascar.

Allusion has already been made, in a former chapter, to the settlement of these marauders, but there is sufficient authority for believing that they landed on many different parts of the coast, and took shelter from the several powers combined against them, wherever an eligible situation was presented to their choice. Rochon, on the authority of Bigorne, a soldier in the French East India Company's service, gives many interesting particulars relating to the intercourse between the pirates and the natives, and describes the system of policy which induced these settlers to cultivate the good-will and esteem of the natives. By means of alliances contracted with the islanders, the pirates insinuated themselves into their confidence; and such were the important

advantages they derived from a place of shelter, a defence so secure in itself, so remote from the civilized world, and at the same time so spontaneously rich in all the necessaries of life, that it seems to have required the combined force of many of the powers of Europe to drive them from their retreats on this coast.

Amongst the settlements described by Johnson in his Voyages of the Pirates, are some of so important a character as to render it highly probable they may have had considerable influence upon the manners and customs of the natives in the immediate vicinity. Among those who visited the coast of Madagascar, perhaps the most remarkable in his piratical career was Captain William Kid, who in the reign of William the Third received a commission from that monarch, to go out in the charge of a ship, with "full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into custody all pirates, freebooters, and sea-rovers, which he should meet upon the seas, or upon the coast of any country."

With this commission, captain Kid sailed in the Adventure galley of thirty guns with eighty men, and directed his course to Madagascar, the great resort of such marauders as he was in search of. For some time he cruised about in the neighbourhood of this island, but the pirate ships being most of them out in search of prey, his provisions and resources began to diminish, while his hopes of success became increasingly faint. While he continued in this state, he began to think of abandoning the object for which he had been sent out, and finally made known to his crew the design he had conceived of becoming himself a pirate. The scheme was but too readily adopted by his comrades, who, under the command of their unprincipled leader, commenced a course of lawless cruelty and bloodshed, which terminated in the apprehension, trial, and execution of their traitorous leader.

Before and after the commencement of his piratical career, Captain Kid appears to have frequented the coast of Madagascar without attempting anything like a settlement there, and such was most frequently the case with other adventurers of his class; who merely touched at the island for the purpose of refitting their ships. Some, however, were induced from the apparent salubrity of the climate, the productiveness of the soil, and the inoffensive character of the inhabitants, to prolong their residence amongst them, and of these the most important colony appears to have been one conducted by a French pirate of the name of Misson, who, in connexion with his comrade Caraccioli, established a sort of republican commonwealth upon the north-eastern coast. Here they were afterwards joined by captain Tew, and being all men of superior education and abilities, to those generally engaged in the demoralizing and murderous pursuits of piracy, the affairs of their settlement were for some time conducted with considerable prudence, and attended with a measure of success.

It is stated by Johnson,* that they built a fort and a town, that they cultivated a considerable tract of land, and had even a senate-house, in which they made laws for the good government of their infant colony. From this settlement, which they called Libertatia, they sent out their ships on marauding expeditions, and in many instances were so successful as to add greatly to their wealth and power. In the mean time a traffic was by this means kept up with the natives, who were induced to resort to them for the purposes of barter, and at last became willing to assist in the building and navigation of two small vessels intended for cruising round the island.

* History of the Pirates, vol. ii.

It is stated, that on one occasion they captured a Moorish vessel bound for Mecca with pilgrims; and there being on board one hundred women, who were accompanying their friends and parents on their pilgrimage, the pirates detained these as wives for the people of their colony, with a view to its greater stability, and the contentment of the men under their command.

Amongst their most daring exploits had been the taking of a large Portuguese vessel, by which they obtained so many prisoners, that to detain them would have been to endanger their own safety; they therefore fitted out a vessel, and gave them all their liberty to sail with it wherever they might choose, reserving to themselves no other security than a promise from these men that they would never fight against them.

The consequences were such as might easily have been anticipated. About the time when the settlement had reached the height of its prosperity, one of the small vessels belonging to the pirates, which had been sent out for the purpose of exercising the negroes in their newly acquired nautical skill, brought word that five tall ships had chased them into the harbour, and by their appearance they judged them to be 50-gun ships, belonging to the Portuguese, and full of men. This was probably one of those attempts stated by Rochon as having been made by the European powers to put a stop to the depredations of the pirates; and from the conflict which ensued, it appeared an inferior force would have been unable to cope with an enemy so formidable as the pirates had rendered themselves.

The account of Captain Misson states, that the Portuguese were driven away with considerable loss, but that to all who were taken captive, great lenity and generosity were shewn, with the exception, however, of two Portuguese

found on board one of the vessels, who had formerly been of the number liberated by the pirates, and who in all probability had informed of their retreat. These two men were publicly executed.

From some circumstances related in this account, there is reason to believe that the pirates of this settlement were neither dealers in, nor instigators to, the cruel and infamous traffic in slaves carried on afterwards: some natives having been brought to them for sale, they refused to purchase any, but afterwards employed them as free labourers, giving them, and all who came to them as slaves, their liberty; and at the same time honourably disclaiming either power or inclination to hold them in bondage.

The destruction of this settlement appears to have arisen from a series of calamitous events, chiefly an attack of the natives, by whom a considerable number of the settlers were massacred. This was the more unexpected, from their having dwelt amongst them on the most amicable terms for so long a period, that they had ceased to entertain any fear of enemies from the interior of the island.

Depressed by this unlooked-for calamity, and having lost many of his men and some of his ships at sea, Captain Misson and his companions left the island; but it is probable that the alliances they had formed, the regulations they had established in their colony, the arts they had taught, and the general effects of their intercourse with the people, would exert an indirect influence over these people for a considerable time after the departure of the foreigners.

If such were the men (and unquestionably there were such amongst the adventurers of that period) who formed these piratical settlements, the strong indications on the part of the natives, of respect for the pirates in general, is

easily accounted for; for while the former were wholly unacquainted with the desperate means by which the wealth that poured into the country was acquired, they knew themselves to be partakers in that wealth, and experienced all the immediate benefits of that selfish policy which secured their friendship for men who were enemies to all the world besides.

We need not therefore wonder that the pirates, who returned continually to the island to repair and victual their ships, always met with a favourable reception from the natives, who compared their conduct with that of other Europeans, who had more than once been guilty of violently seizing their provisions, committing unheard-of atrocities, burning and sacking villages, or firing upon them with their artillery, whenever they found the natives hesitate in the least degree to supply them with bullocks, poultry, and rice.

The pirates had continued their depredations with success until the year 1721. It was at this epoch that several nations of Europe, alarmed at the enormous losses sustained by their commerce, finally united to clear the Indian Ocean from these formidable depredators, who had seized a large Portuguese man-of-war, which had on board Count Receira and the archbishop of Goa, and on the same day another ship carrying thirty guns.

The pirates, elated with past successes, made a long and desperate resistance. Considerable squadrons were required to oppose them, and they were only to be arrested in their career of plunder and murder by the most rigorous and exemplary punishments. The Europeans pursued them to their places of most retired concealment, and there destroyed their vessels by fire.

The loss of their ships deprived the pirates of the

means of interrupting the commerce between India and Europe, and confined them to their settlements on the coast of Madagascar. Forced to give up their wandering and predatory life, they plunged into a different kind of villany, which has left upon their memory a deeper stain. Tired of the dull inactivity of the life they led in the fertile districts where they were hospitably entertained, but being too weak in numbers to conquer the natives, they devised a plan for increasing their own wealth and their own infamy at the same time. The sale of prisoners for slaves answered doubly their views of exciting and perpetuating divisions among the Malagasy, and procuring the means of riches to themselves; and of being not only pardoned for past transgressions, but courted and protected by the European powers, who had so lately been their most formidable enemies.

It is stated by Rochon, that, in the year 1722, soon after the destruction of the ships belonging to the pirates, the Betanimenes, a people inhabiting the country towards the interior, had resorted to one of the villages where the stores belonging to the pirates were deposited, with a view of purchasing such articles as were suited to their necessities or tastes. Those most in request were India stuffs, Musilepatam handkerchiefs, muslins, and calicoes. The people of Anteva, and probably the people of Tamatave and Mahavebona, inhabiting the sea-coast in the neighbourhood of the pirates, received the Betanimenes with the greatest cordiality, not only on their own account, but because they would have deemed themselves wanting in hospitality as well as in friendliness to the pirates, had they caused the least interruption in the trade of cattle, and of provisions of all sorts necessary for the victualling of their ships.

The Betanimenes, who were a more frugal race as well as more courageous than the people of Anteva and Mahavelona, no sooner found that the source of the stores of the pirates were exhausted by the destruction of their ships, than they prepared to return to their villages with the rich treasures they had amassed; nor would the people of the neighbourhood have opposed their departure, had not the pirates tried every method to incite them to violence by representing that the booty belonged by right to them, as a return for the kindness they had shewn to the strangers; and that, if they suffered such possessions to be taken away, they would be lost, and dispersed about the country. The respect due to strangers was long before it could be overcome; but at length the people of Anteva and the adjacent provinces yielded, and attacked the Betanimenes. A bloody war ensued, in which the pirates cautiously avoided any public interference, but they secretly encouraged both parties, by selling arms to one, and representing to the other that they had right on their side. At length the Betanimenes, who had not come from home prepared for a protracted contest, found their ammunition expended; and the pirates, seizing this auspicious moment for their guilty purpose, advised them to the act of exchanging their prisoners of war for arms and gunpowder. The Betanimenes, provoked by the unwarrantable and unlooked-for attack of the other party, eagerly followed the pernicious counsel of their pretended friends. Defending themselves with great bravery, they had taken a large number of prisoners, who proved a great incumbrance, they therefore sold them to the pirates, and received in exchange arms and ammunition. Having obtained these supplies, they found themselves placed in a more advan-

tageous position as regarded their enemies, and were able to return home without any further resistance.

The consequences of this event, as it respects the people of Madagascar, will hereafter be more fully described; but it is not unimportant to notice the manner in which the pirates were affected by it. They became great favourites with the European nations. The same men who, a few months before, were the scourge and the curse of the East India trade, who were looked upon with horror and detestation, and for whose destruction nations, otherwise adverse to each other, had united in forming a powerful armament, were now considered so important to their countrymen, that their protection was eagerly sought, and they were employed as factors or agents in the iniquitous traffic in slaves: the plan of providing a regular supply was thus introduced; all transactions of the kind in that quarter of the island passing through their hands.

The sanguinary war commenced on this occasion was the origin of many which have stained with blood the north-east portion of Madagascar. Before that period, the trifling divisions amongst the natives, naturally arising out of their social but barbarous habits, never lasted long, nor left any traces of deadly animosity behind them; but by this double system of treachery and bloodshed, the whole country was involved in all the miseries of violently agitated and ferocious passions, which have since diffused over the entire population every species of suffering, outrage, and crime.

It is but too probable that the pirates did more than instigate the islanders to these intestine wars. In Johnson's account of the voyages of the pirates, numerous instances are related, in which they actually engaged in

considerable numbers in the treacherous and sanguinary wars of the natives; and on one occasion, two ships took in a cargo of six hundred slaves, as the reward of their assistance in an expedition against some towns which the chief of the district desired to subdue. The same party having promised their assistance a second time to the chief, returned the next season, and received another cargo of slaves on similar conditions, having succeeded in rendering him master of the whole of that part of the country of Methelege, and having established such a reputation amongst the people, that those who were accompanied by white men to battle, were certain of victory, and causing those who saw a white man among the forces of their opponents to prepare for flight before the engagement commenced.

Of the pirates who entered into the plundering and murderous excursions of the Malagasy, a Captain North and his followers appear to have been amongst the most notorious and successful, especially in the subjugation of a fortified town previously considered impregnable from the nature of its situation, and the peculiar structure of its fortifications. North, who is said to have avoided all piratical attempts upon European ships, and who, therefore, confined his attacks to Moorish vessels only, lived five years in the island of Madagascar, during which time his intercourse seems to have been chiefly of a pacific nature; but on removing to the south of the island, he was induced to lend his assistance to the inhabitants of Mongoro, who were then at war with a neighbouring prince, and who promised him a reward of one hundred slaves and five hundred head of cattle, with all the prisoners they should take. It was here that he attacked the fortified town above noticed, and such was the skill and perseverance, as well as courage and generosity with which his exploits were conducted, that

he gained the universal confidence and esteem of the natives, who would gladly have detained him amongst them.

Such being the means by which the pirates obtained influence over the people of Madagascar, it is not to be wondered at that the names of men whose characters were stained with innumerable crimes, should long be held in grateful remembrance by a people so ignorant of their real motives and principles. Amongst those who claim this tribute of respect, was Tamsimalo, the son of a corsair notorious for cunning and plunder. His mother was the daughter of a powerful chief; and although no extraordinary event distinguished his reign, which commenced on the demise of his father, he was buried in the island of St. Mary's in the year 1745, and his name was long held in high estimation by the natives.

This prince was succeeded by John Harre, his son, whose power was more circumscribed, and whose misconduct brought upon him the contempt of his subjects. He made Foule Pointe his place of residence, leaving the government of St. Mary's to his mother, and to a sister known by the name of Betia, a woman justly celebrated for her beauty and fascinations—qualities which were indicated by her name, *Be* signifying "much," and *tia*, "affection."

Shortly after the death of Tamsimalo, the French East India Company formed a settlement at St. Mary's, and Monsieur Grosse was ordered to take possession of the island in the Company's name. He was accompanied in performing this ceremony by Betia; and as such an honour, according to the customs of the country, belonged to the widow of the chieftain, whose sovereignty was generally acknowledged, the haughty and imperious mother of John Harre publicly announced her determination to be revenged for this insult to her dignity and rank. Grosse appears to

have thought little of her threats, and to have proceeded in his plans for establishing the colony. These plans, however, were defeated by the appearance of epidemic disorders, incident to that situation at certain seasons of the year; and such was the mortality occasioned by the Malagasy fever, that the directors of the Isle of France were obliged to send out fresh troops; and of these it is that Rochon remarks, "they were of such a description that their loss could excite no kind of regret."

If Grosse was deficient in respect to the widow of Tamsimalo, he neglected no means of insinuating himself into the favour of the daughter; who, being a woman of great good-nature and agreeable manners, was a much greater favourite than her mother. By her influence over the people, she succeeded repeatedly in protecting the French from the projects of the revengeful and implacable widow; but her zeal was at last suppressed by a heavy accusation being brought against Grosse, from which she dared not defend him. It appears, even prior to this period, to have been the practice of the Malagasy to bury the wealth of their princes with their bodies in the grave; and the charge brought forward by the mother against Grosse was no less than that of having violated the sacredness of her husband's tomb, for the sake of the riches it was known to contain. This accusation excited such violent indignation amongst the natives, that the destruction of the French was immediately decreed; and they rushed furiously upon the colony, set fire to the buildings, and massacred the settlers. The intelligence of this fatal event arrived at the Isle of France on Christmas-eve, 1754, when a ship, already fitted out for war, received orders to block up the entrance of St. Mary's harbour, and chastise the inhabitants in the severest manner.

This cruel charge was faithfully executed. While the troops ravaged the island, burned the villages, and massacred the inhabitants, the guns of the vessel were brought to bear upon those who attempted to escape to the main land. Several large canoes, filled with natives, by these means were sunk. In one of these was the widow of Tamsimalo, who had embarked with the hope of reaching the Bay of Antongil, but in spite of every exertion a shot reached her boat. The widow and many of her attendants were killed, and the rest made prisoners. Among these was Betia, who was immediately taken to the Isle of France, where she fully justified herself before the council, by making it appear that her connexion with Grosse had endangered her life, and that she would no longer have been safe at St. Mary's, having forfeited, in consequence of favouring the French, and so repeatedly exerting herself to save them, the affection and confidence of the people. The council, convinced of her innocence, sent her back to Foule Pointe with many costly presents, and with a strict charge to use all her influence to bring about a better understanding between the people of Foule Pointe and the French. Negociations of the character proposed were much needed; for the people, alarmed at the late events in St. Mary's, had taken refuge in the interior of the island, and all commerce was consequently at an end. On account of the talents and influence of this extraordinary woman, she was deemed the most efficient agent that could be employed in such an undertaking; and the better to accomplish her purpose, she took with her Bigorne, who has already been mentioned as a soldier in the East India Company's service, and who was a man of intelligence, of a good understanding, and active habits.

Bigorne, who was enabled to acquire a knowledge of the

language of the natives, won their affection by his frank and open behaviour, and induced them to make arrangements with the French, by which the trade with the Isle of France was successfully renewed.

"Among all the attestations unanimously given of his services, we shall distinguish," says Rochon, "that of Mons. Poivre, who, in the year 1758, became an eye-witness to the excellent conduct of that brave soldier. That celebrated governor, whose approbation cannot be suspected of prepossession or partiality, has frequently made before me the eulogium of that man, whose memory is still dear to the islanders.

"The speeches which he made before the natives in their public assemblies, called kabarys, could not be compared with those of their own orators. Mons. Poivre, who was present at several of these assemblies, often told me that the natural eloquence of the Malagasy had really astonished him. He took delight in relating the most minute particulars of a great kabary, at which all the neighbouring chiefs were present, surrounded by numberless crowds of their respective subjects, to conclude a treaty of commence with the commissioners of the French East India Company."

This speech is quoted at length by Rochon; and while it bears strong evidence of having derived some of its merits from a French translation, it is still sufficiently authentic to confirm the often-repeated statements that the Malagasy, like many others of the same grade of civilization, possess the faculty of speaking in public with great readiness and propriety, using highly impressive and figurative language, and producing very powerful effects upon the audiences they address.

The appeal, on the part of the speaker, was to the inte-

grity and good feeling of Bigorne; and it was replied to by Mons. Poivre, who blended many fair promises with observations such as were the most calculated to rouse the sensibility of the chiefs. He spoke of peace and lenity; called them brothers and friends; and intimated to them, that all the white people who did not entertain for them the same sentiments, would be universally censured. The result of this address was a conclusion of the treaty, which was announced with shouts of acclamation. It had already become an object of no small importance to the French, to make peace with the Malagasy; the ships of the former being in great want, and requiring daily three bullocks, and a proportionate quantity of rice, to feed the company, which consisted of six hundred men.

The ratification of the treaty took place immediately, and was performed with the utmost solemnity. The orator slaughtered an ox, the blood of which was received into an earthen vessel, and a quantity of sea-water, pimento, pulverized gun-flints, and a small portion of earth and gunpowder mingled with it: these ingredients were moistened with tafia, a species of rum. Two leaden balls were used in mixing and reducing these different ingredients, of which he finally made a potion or liquor, conjuring some evil spirit to change it into poison for whoever should drink of it and afterwards break his oath. The speaker held a knife in his hand, and, first invoking the God of the whites, and then the god of the blacks, he besought them, with a loud voice, to instil into the hearts of both, peace, concord, friendship, and good faith. Then striking, with a sudden movement, the points of two lances into the liquor, while John Harre sprinkled some drops of it on the ground, he pronounced curses and horrid imprecations against those who should infringe the treaty.

The speaker, whose name was Rabesin, repeated these imprecations three times, with a vehemence of gesture and utterance which produced great effect upon the vast multitude assembled.

It is said, that, in this state of terror and excitement, John Harre, and the rest of the chiefs, taking a small quantity of the unpalatable liquor, swallowed it with many distortions of face and body; and their example was followed by most of the chiefs who were present. The Frenchmen, however, did but make a pretence of tasting it, notwithstanding the entreaties of Bigorne, who was persuaded that this was necessary, if not to the success, at least to the validity of the treaty.

Rabesin then slaughtered the rest of the victims; and this famous kabary was concluded with a great feast, followed by dances, music, and games. The speaker is described by Rochon as having been "master of the art of changing, at pleasure, the features of his face; his language, always consonant with his gestures, bore the appearance of conviction; nor was he a stranger to the art of moving minds the least susceptible of enthusiasm, and of firing with anger the least irascible." These talents he could exercise at will in any cause, or for any party likely to reward his unprincipled exertions; and Bigorne, who was well acquainted both with his vices, and his ascendancy over the people of Foule Pointe, made it serve his own interest, not only to shew him marks of esteem and deference in public, but even to bribe him in secret with considerable presents. Even on the occasion of this remarkable and apparently patriotic address, while Rabesin was advocating the cause of his countrymen, he had actually sold himself, and the advantages that might accrue from his eloquence, to the French before the kabary assembled; and

when he appeared to be convinced by the reply of Monsieur Poivre, and raised his single voice to advocate the treaty, all his emotion and all his apparent conviction, were but the result of a preconcerted part, for acting which he had received his price.

The day after the conclusion of the treaty, the markets of Foule Pointe were abundantly supplied with provisions of every description, and the ships laid in their stores at a low price.

On the arrival of Mons. Poivre in France, he recommended Bigorne in the strongest terms to the East India Company. At that time he was only interpreter at Foule Pointe, but on so high a recommendation, he was appointed, under the direction of the government of the Isle of France, to the management of all that belonged to trade and the victualling of ships throughout Madagascar; which trust he fulfilled with great prudence and ability, until the year 1762, when he was called to France, for having declared war against John Harre. That chief had committed aggressions on the territories of several others who were in strict league with the French. The chiefs conjointly entreated Bigorne to take upon himself the command of their united forces, and avenge them of their wrongs. Bigorne long refused to comply with their request, and at last consented only on terms, which must have appeared to them as but little in accordance with his established reputation for personal bravery. His conditions were, that as the success of the war depended upon his safety, he should not be required to expose himself to the fire of the enemy. However contrary this conduct appeared to the ideas entertained by the chiefs of his undaunted courage, his influence prevailed, and they ranged themselves under his banners. He made them go through some simple

manœuvres, and, finding them docile and submissive, led them towards the enemy, and, when within sight of them, strictly prohibited his party from beginning the combat until he gave the signal for battle.

The army of John Harre was much more numerous than that of Bigorne, but the position of the latter secured to him great advantages, of which his enemy was not able to judge. The first charge made by John Harre proved decisive. Though conducted with vigour, his forces were repulsed in so terrible a manner, that he was unable to lead them again to the combat. And thus a chief, who had previously been considered invincible, was vanquished by the mere position of a man who did not mix in the battle, and was even at some distance from the field.

Being informed afterwards that Bigorne had directed the motions of the victorious army, John Harre replied, "How could I defend myself against the invisible spirit of a white man that attacked me? To be revenged, however, I am about to leave Foule Pointe, to retire to the Bay of Antongil. My removal from that port will alarm the merchants, and the markets will no longer be supplied. Commerce will, in the mean time, be at a stand, and Bigorne's chiefs will recall him to the Isle of France. My departure therefore promises me a speedy deliverance from my most formidable enemy."

The prediction of John Harre was soon realized. His departure was announced with consternation, and his absence put an end to all commerce. Some chiefs, friendly to Bigorne, did all in their power to supply the markets with provisions, but they were opposed by the merchants of Foule Pointe. The French ships, which came to take in provisions, after vainly endeavouring to restore peace and harmony amongst the people, were compelled to set sail to

the Isle of France in the most destitute condition, and without the necessary means of subsistence for their crews. Their common complaints procured the immediate recall of Bigorne, who was dismissed from his office, after having vainly attempted to justify his conduct.

On the departure of Bigorne, John Harre returned to Foule Pointe, where he was more favourably received than might have been expected; and with his return commerce soon resumed its wonted activity, though it did not long continue. Secret enmity and discord still rankled in the hearts of his people; and before many months had expired, the war broke out with more violence than ever. After a long continuance of strife and bloodshed, the island was at last freed from the dominion of this turbulent oppressor, who was alike incapable of living in peace with his allies, or his own subjects. He was slain by the people of Mahavelona in 1767, who, seizing his spoils, enriched themselves and greatly augmented their power.

His son Hyavi succeeded to the sovereignty; but advantage being taken of his youth, his authority and possessions were curtailed, so that he held only a small part of the territories acquired by his father. At the commencement of his reign, the French East India Company had transferred the government of the Isles of France and Bourbon to their sovereign, and Mons. Poivre had been appointed intendant of the colonies at these places. These circumstances, added to the death of John Harre, removed every obstacle in the way of Bigorne's return to Madagascar, and he accordingly arrived at Foule Pointe, where his presence had become highly necessary. He was received in the most cordial manner by the inhabitants, who bestowed upon him flattering testimonies of esteem and friendship. They had ever entertained the highest opinion of his talents and

integrity, and now they chose him as the arbiter of all their differences. He re-established peace and concord amongst the chiefs in the northern part of the island, where he remained as commissioner of trade, until Benyowsky was appointed governor-general, and fixed his establishment at the Bay of Antongil.

These circumstances are related on the authority of the Abbe Rochon, who was well qualified to bear testimony to the character of Bigorne, having accompanied him on a voyage to Madagascar in the year 1768. The object of the Abbe in undertaking this voyage was to collect the rarest and most useful plants in the island for Mons. Poivre's celebrated garden of Montplasir, afterwards known by the name of the Royal Botanical Garden at the Isle of France; and during his stay in Madagascar, he had an opportunity of obtaining from Bigorne much valuable information, relating both to the natural history and the political state of the country.

CHAP. III.

Renewed attempt of the French government to establish a colony in Madagascar in 1757—Liberal character of the plan—Occupation of Fort Dauphin by Mons. Maudave—Suspicions and hostility of the natives—Abandonment of the plan—Proposal by the French government to Count Benyowsky—Notice of his early history—His commission to establish a colony in Madagascar—Opposition to the project by the Authorities in the Isle of France—Great error in the arrangements of the French government—Benyowsky's arrival at Mauritius—His reception by the chiefs at Madagascar in 1774—Examination of the country—Erection of a fort and other public buildings—Negligence of the authorities in the Isle of France—Destitute state of the colony—Alliances of Benyowsky with the native chiefs—Settlement at the Plain of Health—Disaffection excited by emissaries from the Isle of France—Difficulties of the colony—Infanticide abolished by the natives—Confederacy of the Sakalavas against the colony—Victory over the Sakalavas by means of the cannon—Renewed confederacy amongst the Sakalava chiefs—Their defeat and submission—Loss of the vessels bringing supplies—Arrival of intelligence from France—Benyowsky requested of the chiefs to accept the sovereignty of the island—Arrival of commissioners from France—Departure of Benyowsky for Europe—His visit to France, England, and America—Return to Madagascar—He is shot by the French troops.

In the year 1767, the attention of the French government was again directed to Madagascar, and a plan for the establishment of a colony at Fort Dauphin was presented by the French minister, the Duke de Praslin, to his master, and honoured with the royal approbation. It is stated by Copland, in his History of Madagascar, that he had an opportunity of perusing this document, and that it appeared to have been drawn up on liberal and enlightened principles, and was designed to embrace the welfare of the inha-

bitants, as well as the purposes of the French government. It was founded on the conviction that a purely military establishment was unsuitable; and that it was only by conciliatory means, the confidence and attachment of the natives was to be gained. It is stated in this document, that "there is no necessity for sending troops and squadrons for conquest, nor for transporting a whole society at a great expense: better arms, and better means, will promote this establishment, without expending much money. It is only by the force of example, morals, religion, and a superior policy, that we propose to subdue Madagascar. The society there is already formed; and nothing is necessary but to invite it to us, and to direct it according to our views, which will meet with no obstacles, as they will interest the Malagasy themselves, by the advantage of a reciprocal exchange."

Upon this principle it was proposed, that as soon as he had in some measure secured a footing among the natives, by a short residence at Fort Dauphin, the principal seat for colonization should be transferred from that place to Frauchere. At this spot he proposed to establish his colony for the sole purposes of trade, on the principle of mutual advantage; and, as Copland observes, "had such an establishment been formed when the French first went to Madagascar, there is little doubt that it would have been attended with success." But the many acts of aggression committed by the French, had made a deep impression on the minds of the natives, they retained the most vivid recollections of the cruelty they had experienced; and, whatever professions of upright intentions and friendly feelings were made by Mons. Maudave, they were too suspicious, and too much alarmed at the mere probability of a repetition of their sufferings, to allow themselves to be again deceived.

Mons. Maudave, who was sent out to establish this colony, reached the island in 1768, took formal possession of the government of Fort Dauphin, and made immediate preparations for the execution of his plan. It was not long, however, before this equitable and benevolent project was entirely relinquished by the French government, on the plea of having discovered that the establishment was founded on *false principles*. They also declared, that "it was utterly impossible to afford the advances of every kind required by M. Maudave in his new colony."

Such are the reasons given by Mons. de Boynes, the French minister, in a letter subsequently written to Messrs. Tournay and Maillart, relative to the undertaking of Count Benyowsky. There is every reason to believe, that after the experience the natives had had of the cupidity and cruelty of the French, it would have been difficult to persuade them to admit even of such an establishment as Mons. Maudave proposed, in the interior of the island; but it is also probable, that the chief cause of its abandonment was the expense it would have brought upon the French government, whose resources were at that time so much needed to support the measures adopted by that country during the American struggle for independence.

After the return of Mons. Maudave to Europe, the French government made another proposal for establishing a colony, to Count Benyowsky, a Polish nobleman of great celebrity, whose adventurous career was distinguished by so much of the marvellous and romantic, and whose eccentric and chequered life has been so much misrepresented by party feeling as to render it difficult to ascertain with accuracy the true nature of his connexion with the island of Madagascar. His memoirs and travels, written by himself, form the subject of a work well worthy the

attention of the curious; and, so far as they indicate the true character and habits of the author, may assist in forming calculations as to the kind and degree of influence he would be likely to exercise upon the natives of Madagascar, amongst whom he was for several years a resident.

In early life, the Count had taken an active part in the political affairs of his own country; and falling under the displeasure of the Russian government, was banished to Siberia, whence he speedily effected his escape, by engaging a number of his fellow-sufferers in a conspiracy of so daring and extensive a nature that they finally left Kamtschatka in possession of two ships, and at the head of more than a hundred men, of whom he was elected commander.

After enduring all the strange vicissitudes incident to a voyage commenced under circumstances so unusual, and touching at several places, Benyowsky at last sold his ships at Canton, and, embarking himself and his crew on board two French trading vessels, arrived at the Isle of France in the year 1772.

Here his reception was not the most favourable, and his stay was consequently short; but on his departure from the island he intimated the probability of his applying to the government of France for a commission to establish a colony in Madagascar. This design appears to have been treated by the French at the Isle of France with ridicule and contempt; and a letter was written by the intendant, to the French minister of marine, greatly to the prejudice of Benyowsky.

Upon his arrival in France, after his various and surprising adventures had obtained publicity, the French minister, Mons. de Boynes, informed him of the intention of government to make another attempt to establish a colony at Madagascar, for the purpose of trade rather than

conquest, and inviting him to take charge of the expedition, with the title of Governor-General. Whether these overtures arose from a previous application on the part of Benyowsky or his friends, or whether the extent of his knowledge, and his firm and enterprising character, had pointed him out to the minister as a fit person to direct such an enterprise, does not appear. But in his instructions to the governor and commissary at the Isle of France, Boynes expressed the greatest confidence in the individual to whom he had given the appointment. "No person," said he, "has appeared more capable of carrying his majesty's intentions into effect, than Mons. Baron de Benyowsky. In the course of his travels by sea, he has learned the manner of treating of savage people; and to a great share of firmness, he has united that mildness of character which suits a design of this nature."

In confirmation of this opinion, the minister, not approving the plan which had been drawn up by one of the government agents, ordered the Count to draw up his own plan, which was approved both by the king and his ministers.

The first step taken towards the accomplishment of the object, was, however, sufficient to secure its failure. Instead of raising the necessary supplies in France, the minister devolved it on the government of the Isle of France to furnish all stores required for the colony; thus, in effect, making the Count dependent on his enemies, whose influence, he foresaw, would be employed to defeat his objects. Benyowsky remonstrated, but could not prevail on the minister so to modify the plan as to secure him against the disastrous effects of this ill-judged arrangement.

The Abbe Rochon was at the Isle of France at the time of Benyowsky's arrival, and appears to have shared largely

in the prejudice existing against him amongst the French. In confirmation of his own opinion, he quotes that of his friend, Mons. Poivre, which sufficiently proves how little the Count had reason to expect from those, on whose co-operation and support he had been rendered dependent.

"We have seen," said Mons. Poivre, in conversing with Rochon, "swarms of locusts devouring in an instant abundant harvests; we have seen two terrible hurricanes threaten this island with total subversion; but Madagascar always served to compensate the mischief done by those awful scourges: henceforth the Isle of France has lost all its resources; it must fall and perish, if similar scourges should again happen to spread desolation over these fields. Under the government of Benyowsky, Madagascar will no longer be the support of this settlement; in our future misfortunes, we must only hope for distant and precarious relief. I was much habituated to the success of cheats and adventurers, but the success of Benyowsky overwhelms me with confusion; the more so, as I have written a letter on his account to the minister. I well know that oddities are pleasing, that they amuse the multitude, and raise their credulity to the highest pitch of excess; but how could I imagine that a stranger just broke loose from chains and prisons at Kamschatka, and sunk into contempt by his own writings, should obtain such an important charge without my approbation? Strongly attached, in virtue of my office, to the welfare of this colony, I ought, the first time he spoke to me about Madagascar, to have excited in him a desire of dethroning the Mogul; this request would surely have been complied with, and we should have got rid of him."

In confirmation of the value which it appears, by these observations, was attached to the island of Madagascar,

as a means of furnishing supplies for adjacent colonies, it is further stated, that when three successive hurricanes had, a few years prior to this time, destroyed all the crops in the Isle of France, and when a dreadful famine menaced the whole island, the arrival of ten large ships loaded with rice from Madagascar had rescued the inhabitants from misery and starvation.

The Count Benyowsky arrived at the Isle of France on the 22nd of September, 1773, when he was soon convinced by the conduct of the governor, De Tournay, and the Commissary Maillart, that he had nothing to expect from them but open or concealed hostility. They went so far as to inform him they were "surprised the Count had undertaken such an expedition, so prejudicial to the Isle of France, whose merchants would be ruined if the new establishment at Madagascar succeeded." They professed to be willing to wait and see what could be done until more positive orders should arrive from the court: "but, in the mean time, they could not avoid informing him that the project was impracticable; because the people of Madagascar having, for one hundred and fifty years, repelled all the attempts of France, they would not submit at this moment, when they were united under a solid government formed by themselves."

Benyowsky now felt in their full force all the disadvantages of his situation, and foresaw, with no unfounded apprehensions, the difficulties that would attend his progress. The good opinion he had left in the minds of the French ministry was of little avail, for he was now in the hands of those who had the power not only to harass him by withholding the necessary supplies, but also to misrepresent his actions, and thereby incite even the French government against him.

Under these circumstances, Benyowsky conducted himself with all his accustomed decision and firmness. He despatched a part of his troops on the 7th of December, 1773, in the Postillion brig, which had been deputed for the service of Madagascar; but his own stay was protracted by the conduct of the governor, until the February following, by which means his arrival took place in the rainy season, the period when the fever usually prevails on the coast.

In the mean time he was annoyed by the most injurious reports respecting the object of his expedition. "I learned," he says in his memoirs, "that some part of my troops were seduced by other regiments, and that some of my volunteers had already deserted; that the disadvantageous observations on our expedition had been urged with such malice and success, that part of my officers had pretended sickness, with a view to delay their departure for Madagascar. I understood, likewise, that the chiefs of the Isle of France had sent emissaries to that island, to the king Hyavi, and other chiefs, to warn them that I was come to deprive them of their liberty, and that I had no other intention than to impose the yoke of slavery upon the whole island."

While every species of indignity and contempt were personally bestowed upon him, Benyowsky prepared to make up his complement of men, and to leave the Isle of France with such necessary supplies as it was the pleasure of Messrs. Tournay and Maillart to grant him.

It appears, from the memoirs of Benyowsky, that the French minister had proposed to place under his command in this expedition, one thousand two hundred men, but that the Count, thinking this number too great for an enterprise where nothing more was intended than to gain the

confidence of the people of the country, the amount was at last fixed at three hundred. Of these, some of the officers, influenced by unfavourable representations in the Isle of France, resigned their commissions there, and their places were supplied by men whose characters gave the commander the greatest uneasiness.

With these, and with the remainder of his troops, Benyowsky arrived at Madagascar on the 4th of February, 1774, and, landing at the Bay of Antongil, found the shore lined with chiefs, who expressed great satisfaction at seeing him; the detachment he had sent forward having, in some measure, dissipated their apprehensions respecting his object. He had left many of his men sick at the Isle of France, and now had the mortification of finding those who had preceded him here feeble and exhausted by their incessant labour in the construction of houses, and in defending themselves from the hostile attacks of the natives. These attacks were greatly increased in violence and malignity by the mode of defence adopted by the soldiers; for whatever might have been the benevolent design of their leader, neither he nor they appear to have had an idea of any other security than what was obtained by force of arms, which, in a country where numbers were so much against them, was not the most judicious.

It was found on landing the cargo, that the commissary at the Isle of France had omitted to send the stores most required by the colony; and, as no articles of trade were forwarded, the Count made purchases of the captain, for which he paid out of his own resources.

His next step was to convene the chiefs, in order to acquaint them with the nature of the intended establishment, and to endeavour to conciliate them. By these means he obtained from them a grant of land, but without

permission to erect fortresses; and an oath of friendship was entered into between him and several of the neighbouring chieftains.

Various objections were made to his measures, partly through the influence and intrigues of the government at the Isle of France, on which he had been so injudiciously rendered dependent, and partly by the natives themselves, whose experience of the unprincipled conduct of European residents very naturally made them extremely unwilling to sanction a new settlement. By great prudence and decision of character, aided by an extensive knowledge of mankind, the Count was enabled to adopt such measures as eventually conciliated the natives; and, having succeeded in obtaining tranquillity in the neighbourhood of his settlement, he turned his attention to the interior of the island, with a view to the discovery of what resources it might afford in the probable event of support from the French government being refused. For this purpose he despatched the commander of the frigate up the river Tingballe; and, as it was a matter of great importance to the colony, not only to secure the alliance and friendship of the chiefs, but also to ascertain the resources of the country for trade, an interpreter was sent into some of the southern provinces, to a distance of a hundred leagues from Louisbourg, the name of Benyowsky's settlement. A serjeant was also despatched with another interpreter, and one hundred and fifty blacks, with instructions to explore the country to the western coast, to enter into treaties with the chiefs of the interior, and convince them of the advantages that would result from a commerce with the white men, to discover the principal branches of trade, to observe their political strength, manners, and disposition, the nature of the climate, and, in short, to collect information of every

kind that might contribute to the success of the establishment.

The labours in which the colonists were under the necessity of engaging, were of such a nature as to reduce them to great distress. The station was surrounded with marshes, which rendered it very unhealthy, and which, consequently, required great exertions in filling them up: the fortifications likewise demanded immediate attention, in order to be prepared against an attack from the natives; and these labours of the day, rendered doubly severe by the excessive heat of the weather, were succeeded by the military services of the night. To add to the calamities of the settlers, they were destitute of almost every accommodation. Without a surgeon, and with few medicines in the hospital chests, or stores in the magazines, deprived also of the promised supplies by the governor of the Isle of France, it is not surprising, that both the health and the spirits of the Count should have failed him, so that he was obliged to seek the healthier climate of the Isle D'Aiguillon, until his strength was sufficiently restored to enable him to contend once more with the accumulated trials of his post.

To add to his distress, he found, on his return, that the lieutenant-colonel and fifteen volunteers had died during his absence of a fortnight, and that many more were ill. He was, therefore, induced to send a detachment up the river Tingballe, in order to find a situation more healthy, to which he might transport the invalids. M. Marigin, who commanded the detachment, after sailing about nine leagues, came to a place, called by the natives, as they supposed, the Plain of Health, which appeared suitable for the purpose, being at a distance from the marshes, very extensive, well sheltered, and commanded by a mountain,

on which a fort might be constructed. There they built houses, and an hospital for the convalescents; and in the mean time the most explicit representations of the distressing state of the colony were despatched to the Isle of France, accompanied by a request for such things as were indispensably necessary. The government of that place, however, paid no attention to the representations, and never sent any assistance.

During the summer, the governor lost his only son by the fever; and at the same time his major, De Marigin, who died regretted by every one: he himself had also a second attack, which obliged him to repair to the Plain of Health, with thirty invalids.

Notwithstanding the exhausted state of the settlers, the small number of the men, and the continued opposition of the natives, the works were carried forward with considerable activity; so that by September, 1775, the people had finished all the necessary buildings at Louisbourg, constructed Fort Louis, and made a road twenty-one miles in length, and twenty-four feet in breadth. The Count had also purchased a considerable portion of land, which was distributed amongst his troops, and preparations were made for cultivating it the following year. In the mean time, no supplies arriving, either from the Isle of France or Europe, he was under the necessity of purchasing stores of such vessels as accidentally touched at the island. At this time he discovered that the governor of the Isle of France had secretly sent emissaries to Madagascar, in order to excite an insurrection against the colony. He therefore prevailed upon the chiefs in alliance with him, to keep up an armed force of twelve hundred men, for the defence of the colony, in the event of its being attacked.

Difficult and painfully alarming as must have been the situation of the Count under these circumstances, it was probably rendered still more so by the nature of his administration, in which he sought to combine the opposite elements of military rule with philanthropic conciliation. The summary execution of the penalties of the former by firing without scruple upon all offenders, naturally produced upon the minds of the natives an unfavourable impression respecting the colony, which the real benevolence of the governor did not counteract.

Amongst many other instances of his unquestionable desire to benefit the people of the island, was a truly praiseworthy attempt which he made to abolish the custom of sacrificing to their superstitious notions of good and evil destinies all the children born on what they called unlucky days. Having accidentally saved the lives of three children devoted to destruction, he gave directions for summoning a kabary of the natives, and, before the whole assembly, reasoned so forcibly with the chiefs and their wives on the cruelty of this unnatural practice, that he prevailed upon them at length to engage by oath to discontinue the custom. The women, however, refused to ratify the engagement, except in the presence of the Count's wife, who was, accordingly, sent for from the Isle of France; and on the 13th of December, the women of several provinces being informed of her arrival, went to take the oath before her, and bind themselves never to sacrifice any of their children. It was further agreed, that those who should break their oath, should be made slaves, and exported out of the country; and that the children who should be born with any defect, which, according to their customs, would have caused them to be put to death,

should in future be sent to the establishment, to be brought up at the charge of the colony, without its being in the power of the parents to release them.

This oath was succeeded by a festival, in testimony of the general satisfaction. In the memoirs of Benyowsky, he calls the day on which this benevolent purpose was accomplished "the happiest of his life;" and the transaction is highly creditable to his humanity.

Before the end of the year, the colony had commenced a trade with the Sakalavas and other nations, although the detachment which was ordered to find a road across the country of Bombatoc had succeeded only in part, having been stopped by the inhabitants of the first village of the Sakalavas, who were still suspicious of their designs. The people whose country lay nearest to Louisbourg were continually endeavouring to excite an insurrection, but the friendly chiefs of St. Mary's, Foule Point, and other districts, by their timely warnings, enabled the governor to counteract their designs, so that in the end, when they refused to desist, he was powerful enough to compel them to leave the province, which was given to another people.

The colony still remained destitute of any supplies from Europe; but by a vessel from the Isle of France, a supercargo, a storekeeper, and several clerks, were added to the establishment. These, however, appear to have been men chosen for no good purpose; for, a very few days after their arrival, the supercargo, Des Assisses, was detected in secretly distributing brandy amongst the chiefs, and at the same time endeavouring to prejudice them against the establishment; and upon the governor's being taken ill, this man informed the officers of the garrison, that he had particular orders from the intendant at the Isle of France to take possession of his effects and papers in the event of his

death. Every thing connected with the arrival and subsequent conduct of these men, proved that they had been purposely sent for the villanous purpose of embarrassing and destroying the colony. It required great presence of mind and fortitude to bear with such treatment; and, without the confidence of his officers, Benyowsky must have become the victim of their wickedness.

It was under these disadvantages that he pursued his great object, carrying forward, as far as circumstances would allow, his measures for the promotion of the welfare of his men, and, as he intended, the civilization of the natives.

The colony was in this enfeebled state, when, in the early part of the year 1775, intelligence was brought to the governor, that a formidable confederacy was organized against it by the chiefs of the Sakalavas, who were able at any time to command at least forty thousand fighting men. The governor prudently concealing his own apprehensions, caused the public works to be carried on with greater spirit; and on soliciting the aid of the chiefs in the vicinity of the colony, he had the satisfaction of receiving offers of assistance from many, among whom, one in particular, placed at his disposal five thousand men.

The hostile preparations of both parties were now assuming a very serious character; and it was not long before a formidable body of the Sakalavas made their appearance, and pitched their camp between the chief settlement and the Plain of Health, in order to cut off the communication. The governor, therefore, determined to attack them with all his forces, which consisted of six thousand natives, in addition to his own troops. On the first discharge of cannon, however, the enemy were struck with such a panic, from what they called "monsters vomiting fire," that they immediately quitted the field; nor were

the different attacks made upon the other branches of the settlement, though carried on with great bravery by the Sakalavas, attended ultimately with any better success.

After the conclusion of this troublesome war, which appears to have been conducted on the part of Benyowsky with the utmost lenity towards those who fell into his hand, or became dependent upon his bounty or protection, his exhausted health and spirits again reduced him to such a state as rendered it necessary to place the command in the hands of Captain Malendre, with full directions how to act in case of his death. He also obtained written testimonials of an entire approbation of his conduct during the time he held the command. This document, which is recorded in his memoirs, is highly honourable to his character, and remains an unanswerable argument against the calumnies which some of the French writers have heaped upon his memory.

During the governor's seclusion from public life, he had time to reflect upon the critical state of the colony, and, amongst other means for relieving the pressing necessities of his men, he formed a plan for teaching the native women to manufacture cloth, which in the end proved extremely beneficial to the colony. Some private vessels also arrived at the island, and supplied the settlers with a few necessaries in exchange for rice, of which they had abundance. But the disappointment of the Count was much increased by finding that a small corvette, sent out by France, with workmen and supplies for Madagascar, had unfortunately been wrecked before it reached its destination, and nothing saved; so that at the end of two years, instead of having every want provided for by the government, the colony had absolutely received no assistance whatever from any public

source. He had been under the necessity of paying for the few supplies he had obtained out of his own private funds, or of taking them in exchange for produce at the pleasure of the owners.

Intelligence having arrived about this time, that another powerful combination was forming against the colony by the chiefs of the Sakalavas, who were endeavouring to excite the eastern natives in the same cause, spies were sent out to ascertain the nature and extent of the confederacy; and the return of these brought a confirmation of all that had been reported, with the fact that the enemy expected to muster thirty thousand men.

This information rendered it necessary for the governor to send messengers to different parts of the island to acquaint his allies, and to engage them to be in readiness against the period fixed for the campaign.

After due attention had been given to various preliminary measures, steps more decided were taken for immediately entering the field. The number of troops belonging to the establishment was about 300, and the native allies amounted to 3,800 upon first setting out. These were divided into three companies, for the convenience of foraging; and upon their march each company received reinforcements to the number altogether of twelve thousand, so that the whole force with which they took the field was 16,313 men, leaving besides a strong guard at each of the posts.

Every practicable arrangement having been made, the governor set sail with his little squadron, consisting of one hundred and ninety-three canoes, on the 30th of April, 1776, and having landed at Hirbay, was presently joined by the allies. It was with the greatest difficulty that this army, drawing heavy cannon after them, effected their passages across the mountains, some of which Benyowsky

describes as being so steep, that the use of cords was required in accomplishing the ascent.

On emerging from a forest, eighteen miles in extent, three different encampments of the Sakalavas were discovered on a large plain. Upon the approach of the French army, they arranged themselves in divisions, and immediately began to fire. But the governor having ordered his artillery to be brought forward, twenty shots from them put the whole army to flight, causing them to abandon their first camp, and at the same time the second camp was taken by another division of the combined army; and, perceiving the destruction already made, the third was voluntarily deserted, and soon afterwards consumed. Eighty Sakalavas were killed, and fifty wounded in this engagement; while on the other side none of the Europeans were hurt, and only a few of the natives wounded. In the end, the Sakalavas sued for peace, which was willingly granted, though Benyowsky told them they ought rather to have sued for pardon.

While his army remained upon the scene of action, the long-wished-for despatches arrived from France, after a delay of two and a half years. By the first letters the governor opened, he had the satisfaction of learning that the Sirenne had been sent with ammunition, provisions, and money, for the purposes of trade, and that larger supplies might be expected at the end of the year; but it would not be possible to describe his chagrin, when, on opening subsequent despatches, he found that the vessel had been wrecked to the south of Fort Dauphin, and every thing lost! while, on the other hand, a private letter from the French minister informed him, that he must confine his operations to the "preservation of the posts already

established, as his majesty had not fully determined to have a colony at Madagascar."

After a long consultation with his officers, they were unanimously of opinion that it was expedient instantly to suspend the military operations against the Sakalavas, and return to Louisbourg, there to await the farther orders of his majesty's government. On returning to the settlement, the assistance of the chiefs being no longer necessary, it was expected that they would depart; but they all refused to leave, giving as a reason, that intelligence had reached them from the Isle of France that the governor was about to be displaced, and sent to Europe to take his trial; in consequence of which, they had come to a determination to resist such a design by force, if it should prove necessary. The governor represented that the residence of so many troops on the spot tended to impoverish the country; and that if they were determined to reside near him, it would be expedient to send the troops away to their several provinces, as they would always have time to reassemble them. In answer to which, they begged him not to urge their departure any further, being determined rather to perish than desert him.

It is stated in the memoirs of Count Benyowsky, that a very singular circumstance had given rise to the idea of his being the son of a native chieftain, who having died without an heir, the unappropriated territory was thought by a great many to belong to the Count; to whom the urgent crisis of his own affairs, deserted as he was by every friend except such as he could obtain in a barbarous nation, rendered it justifiable to his own mind to avail himself of this and many other superstitious notions of the natives, tending to point him out as the possessor of this vacant chieftain-

ship. This belief appeared to be gaining ground at the very time when the affairs of the colony rendered it a great temptation to the Count to take advantage of it; and, accordingly, when a deputation of chiefs was sent to him on the subject, his mind was in a great measure prepared to accept the offer they were about to make him, of allowing himself to be invested with all the honours of a native prince.

Three powerful chiefs had been deputed for this purpose, and among them Rafangoro, the sole survivor of the family whose representative the Count was supposed to be; and in a speech delivered by this chief on the occasion, he willingly renounced his own rights, to declare the governor the true inheritor of Ramiri.

After the deputies had declared their commission, which was chiefly to invite Benyowsky to a great kabary on this subject, they seated themselves, in expectation of an answer; upon which the Count assured them that he would attend the kabary with pleasure, and there declare his sentiments in public; and that they might depend upon his friendship, his zeal for their interests, and his readiness to sacrifice his own welfare for the good of the nation.

When this consultation was concluded, Benyowsky asked the opinion of his officers respecting the whole affair; and while conversing with them, three, who had been absent, came up at the head of fifty men, and declared their determination to give up their lives rather than see him quit the island; that having themselves intermarried with the natives, they were resolved to fix their abode there; and therefore were fully prepared to relinquish their engagements with the French government, and attach themselves to his cause.

The following day being appointed for holding the kabary,

it was ushered in with a salute of twenty-one guns from the fort; and the French standard having been taken down, a blue flag was hoisted, according to the wish of the chiefs. At seven o'clock, a detachment of seven hundred blacks arrived, and formed a square around the hall. Next came sixty-two chiefs, with their troops; and having saluted the governor, seated themselves in kabary, or in the order observed in their great assemblies. A speech was then made by the most ancient among them, declaring their acknowledgment of the Count as their ampansacabe, (according to Mr. Freeman, "mpanjakabe," sovereign of Madagascar,) and entreating him to accept this rank and title, with the assurance of their fidelity and affection.

The governor then rose, and replied, that he accepted their offer; and that it should be his endeavour to establish a government on a solid foundation, and to promote the happiness of his people by introducing all the arts of civilization and a system of just laws; while the advantages of commerce, and an effectual cultivation of the lands, would occupy his first attention, and would abundantly flourish under their united endeavours.

Benyowsky was then called upon to point out the province in which he would choose to reside, in order that they might build him a town. To which he replied, that although it was his intention to quit the service of France, it was necessary for him to wait the arrival of the commissioners from the king of that country, whom he expected; for which reason he begged that the oath might be deferred, he not being master of his own actions until he had publicly renounced his former engagements.

The kabary was concluded, as usual, with feasting and merriment. Twenty bullocks were killed on the occasion, and, with twelve casks of brandy, distributed amongst the

natives, of whom nearly eleven thousand were present. The colonists shared in the festival, having mounted blue ribbons over their white cockades.

In the month of September, intelligence was received that Messrs. Belcombe and Chevereaux, having touched at the Isle of France, were proceeding without delay to Madagascar, in their office of commissioners, to investigate the affairs of the settlement; and a private letter from a friend to the governor, assured him that these inspectors had orders to carry him to Europe, provided such a step would not endanger the colony. This information was verified on the 21st of the same month, when the vessel with the commissioners made its appearance, and cast anchor off the island of Aiguillon.

The following day these gentlemen landed, and entered upon their duty as inspectors, presenting the governor with a paper containing twenty-five questions relative to the settlement. They then examined the fort, public buildings, and the servants, as well as the several officers of the establishment; after which they proceeded to the two other forts, St. John and Augustus, on the Tingballe. On the 26th of September they held a kabary with the chiefs, at which Benyowsky declined being present, in order that the natives might speak their sentiments more freely, and with less suspicion of his influence. Lastly, they gave the Count a discharge respecting his past conduct, and the accounts, and a certificate for the sum of four hundred and fifty livres, which he had advanced to the treasury. On the 29th they retired on board their vessel, from whence they sent him an order to confine his operations to the preservation of the chief settlement until he had received farther instructions, to put a stop to all public works, and to continue the prohibition of trading with the blacks. These orders were accom-

panied with a permission for the Count to absent himself from Madagascar; but he having previously given in his resignation, and surrendered the command of the troops to M. de Sanglier, refused to receive these orders, and sent them to that officer, declaring to the inspectors that he had in future nothing to do with that establishment, any farther than he was disposed to promote their interests with the natives.

The native chiefs expressed the highest satisfaction at Benyowsky having expressed himself so decidedly on their side; but, at the same time, he received the most pressing solicitations from the soldiers of the garrison that he would again resume his charge of the establishment; and M. de Sanglier urging the same request, he at length consented, protesting that such a resumption should not be considered as a renewal of his obligations to the French government, which he had entirely renounced.

In order to settle these affairs more decidedly, another kabary was held, at which the native chiefs expressed their real sentiments towards the French, and their desire to live at peace with the establishment; all which, Benyowsky assured them, he would communicate on their behalf to the French.

On the 12th of October, the Count Benyowsky was awakened by the discharge of cannon: and the chief Rafangoro, with six others, dressed in white, came to his tent, from whence they conducted him to a plain, on which the natives, to the number of thirty thousand, were assembled. These had formed themselves into an immense circle, each nation being separate, with its chief attached to it, and the women on the outside of the circle. As soon as the Count appeared, the chiefs formed a smaller circle around him in the centre of the assembly, and silence being

proclaimed, the chief, Rafangoro, delivered an address, containing not only an announcement of the rights and privileges upon which the new prince was about to enter, but a general welcome back to the bosom of his native country, and the hearts of his expectant people.

Having finished this discourse, he put an assagaye into the hands of the Count, and prostrated himself at his feet. All the chiefs followed his example, and then the entire multitude: so that the new monarch saw, with feelings it would be difficult to define, fifty thousand people prostrate before him.

The form of acknowledging this new honour was then dictated to him by Rafangoro, during which the people, who were still prostrate, gave a shout as each clan was named, and at last arose. The several clans then separated from each other, and, forming a circle, stood apart, when the Count was led forth to the Rhoandrians, near whom there stood an ox whose throat he cut; at the same time pronouncing the oath of sacrifice. Every Rhoandrian took a small portion of the blood, which he swallowed, repeating, with a loud voice, imprecations against himself and his children, in case he or they should break the oath.

After passing through the same ceremony with the other tribes, he was again conducted to the circle of the Rhoandrians, to perform the oath of blood. This was done by each person making an incision with a knife under the left breast; and the new prince having done the same, they sucked each other's blood, at the same time pronouncing the most horrible maledictions against whoever should violate his oath, and blessings upon those who should continue faithful to their engagements.

In the evening of the same day, three hundred women

came to make an oath to Madame Benyowsky. This was performed by moonlight, and purported that they would obey her orders, and appeal to her in all disputes and quarrels in which it was improper for men to interfere.

The next measure adopted by the Count places his character in a favourable light, as it respects his designs upon Madagascar. It was no less than the proposal of a form of government, and a constitution on a liberal and enlightened basis, well calculated to promote the happiness, and to meet the exigencies, of a people just emerging from the savage state. The form of the government he proposed was as follows:—

1. A supreme council.—This was to consist of thirty-two persons chosen from the Rhoandrians and Anacandrians. The council was to exercise all acts of sovereignty, and to possess the sole right, with the consent of the prince, of convening the general assembly of the nation; to watch lest foreign armies should make attempts against the liberty of the nation, by forming establishments on the shore; to render industry and trade flourishing; and, in short, to use their utmost exertions to secure the perfect prosperity of the community.

2. A permanent council, provincial governors, and provincial councils.

This form of government was proposed by the Count in full kabary. It was difficult to make the chiefs comprehend the plan; but as soon as they understood it, they approved of it, and, as soon as it could be adopted, the different members were appointed.

It appears extraordinary that, at the same kabary, the Count proposed to go to Europe, to form a treaty of commerce and friendship with the king of France, or some other European power, in order to obtain thence proper

persons to instruct the natives in the various arts of civil life. This proposal met with the decided disapprobation of the council, on account of the danger he would incur in going to France; and it was long before he was able to convince them of the importance of the object, and of the advantages that would result from the voyage in respect to the future commerce of the island, and the introduction of the arts and manufactures. At length they consented, and in full kabary delegated to him the power of concluding treaties of commerce and friendship, and of engaging skilful artisans and manufacturers to come and settle on the island: a regular document to this effect was drawn up, and signed in the name of the nation, by the three kings present, Rafangoro, Hyavi, and Lamboin.

After having taken every precaution against confusion or disturbance amongst the people he left behind, the Count took his leave of the chiefs, who accompanied him to the sea-shore, where he embarked on board the brig La Belle Arthur, which he had freighted to convey him to the Cape of Good Hope.

Little remains on record of the Count's subsequent history; most of the documents relating to it having been destroyed. On his arrival in France, it is known that he had a long and violent altercation with that government; at the close of which, however, he so far gained his point, as to obtain swords for his conduct during his government of Madagascar: the injustice of the authorities in the Isle of France was also held up to the general and justly deserved execration of Europe. While in France his cause was ably advocated by the celebrated Dr. Franklin: but the French minister had resolved not to have any further transactions with him; he therefore entered into the service of his Imperial majesty, to whom he made pro-

posals respecting Madagascar. Not meeting with more success there, he left the service in 1783, and came to London, where he drew up a declaration with proposals to his Britannic majesty, offering, "in the name of an amiable and worthy nation, to acknowledge him lord paramount of Madagascar; the interior government, and all the regulations of civilization, police, cultivation, and commerce remaining independent; the chiefs and people being only vassals to his majesty," &c. &c.

It does not appear that this document was ever presented. Whether it was or not, the result was wholly unproductive of the desired effect; and the Count, finding he could meet with no countenance from the British ministry, set sail for America in the Robert and Ann, with a cargo suitable for the Madagascar market. He reached Baltimore in July, 1784, obtained another vessel and cargo, and sailed for Madagascar in the following October. On July 7th, 1785, he cast anchor in Antongil bay, ten leagues south-west of Cape Sebastian, in Madagascar, where the cargo was landed, and an encampment formed. During his stay here, his old friend Lamboin, the king of the north, came to pay his respects to him; and the sovereign of Boyana also came, with a large body of Sakalavas, and peacefully encamped near him.

After his arrival at Antongil bay, he went to Angontzy, where he seized a store-house belonging to the French, and commenced the building of a town, after the manner of the country, intending to establish a factory there. He also sent a detachment of one hundred men, to seize the French factory at Foule Point; but seeing a frigate at anchor there, they desisted.

The government of the Isle of France was not long in becoming acquainted with these proceedings, and they accordingly sent the Louisa frigate, commanded by Viscount

de la Croix, to destroy the settlement, and with it, if possible, the Count. Copland relates that he has seen a statement declaring that the French ministry sent out a frigate with orders to secure him, alive or dead. The Louisa arrived at Foule Point on the 7th of May, 1786, having on board a detachment of sixty men, of the regiment of Pondicherry, under the orders of M. Locher, a captain of infantry.

After procuring what provisions they wanted, the Louisa proceeded along the coast of Angontzy; and having moored the vessel about half a league from the shore, they sent two boats well manned, with two pieces of cannon on the bows of each, in order to effect a landing. When this was done, they marched immediately towards Benyowsky's settlement. After crossing five marshes, they heard the people at work at the settlement, and soon after saw a red flag, which is the common signal for battle in the island. Benyowsky had at this time retired to the fort with two Europeans, and about thirty natives who happened to be with him at the time. The fort was situated on an eminence, surrounded by strong palisades, and defended by two four-pounders and a few swivels. These were played off against the French, who, however, continued to advance, and, when they had got sufficiently near, were ordered to return the fire. The first discharge proved decisive. Benyowsky received a ball in the breast, and fell behind the parapet. He was barbarously dragged forward by his hair, and expired in a few moments.

Such were the conflicting opinions existing at the time in which he lived, in relation to the character and actions of this extraordinary man, that no conclusions can now be justly formed respecting his real merits. The friends of Benyowsky have represented him as possessing bravery, prudence, resolution, perseverance, humanity, penetration,

and strength of mind. His enemies, on the contrary, declare him to have been ambitious, haughty, tyrannical, cruel, ignorant, unjust, and extravagant.

His ambition none would think of calling in question; but it was not the means of prompting him to any unwarrantable measures, until he found himself deserted by the French government; and even then it was not acted upon to any unlawful extent, until it was evident they had determined to oppose him, and even to aim at his life.

Whatever may have been his failings, the crime of cruelty is one that cannot be laid to his charge. The anxiety he uniformly expressed at the sufferings of his troops, and the exertions he used to supply their wants, the satisfaction he evinced at having prevailed on some of the chiefs to abolish the practice of infanticide, the moderation he exercised towards those who had formed combinations against the establishment, and the readiness with which he listened to the first overtures of peace, must effectually exculpate his character from such an imputation.

CHAP. IV.

Effects of the French revolution on the plans for the colonization of Madagascar—Visits of European vessels to the island—Wreck of the Winterton East Indiaman—Sufferings of the passengers and crew—Their treatment by the natives—Humane and friendly conduct of the king of that part of the island—Insalubrity of the climate—Notice of Admiral Watson's visit—Munificent generosity of the king—His interference to screen offenders from punishment—Allusion to the slave-trade—Embassy of Lascallier to Madagascar in 1792—His testimony in favour of the islanders, and condemnation of the conduct of foreigners—Civilization of the natives on the coast—Voyage of Bory de St. Vincent in 1801—His estimate of the importance of the island—Effects of the war in Europe on the Isle of France, Bourbon, and Madagascar—Capture of the former by the English—English settlement formed at Port Loquez in Madagascar—Massacre of the English—Punishment of the chief who had instigated the destruction of the English—Favourable disposition of the natives towards the government of Mauritius.

Benyowsky abandoned the French settlement he had formed in Madagascar in the year 1776; and for some years afterwards, the French government appear to have given up all idea of establishing a colony in that island, confining their efforts to the maintenance of military posts, and factories for the purpose of trade with the natives to obtain supplies of rice and bullocks for the Isle of France. The intention of forming an extensive colonial settlement was thus lost sight of; but it was still considered desirable to make it an auxiliary to the Isle of France as an important depôt for those engaged in the slave-trade, which continued to be carried on to a great extent throughout the whole island, notwithstanding the declarations of the

French minister, that he considered the tendency of the traffic to be prejudicial to the Isle of France.

The manner in which this inhuman traffic is supposed to have been introduced into the island, has been alluded to, as well as the melancholy illustration afforded by the conduct of Drury, of criminal apathy and absence of correct feeling in the public mind, on the horrors entailed by slavery upon its hapless victims; and Benyowsky, with all his liberal and philanthropic plans for ameliorating the condition of the Malagasy, mentions in his memoirs more than one instance, in which he engaged in the slave-trade, at the same time that he professed to abhor the principles of slavery itself. The only extenuation of his crime that could be brought forward, may be found in the erroneous views on the subject so generally entertained, and the state of his colony, cut off as it was from all other resources. This disregard of the clear dictates of justice and humanity renders his claim to the possession of better principles of a very questionable nature.

The French revolution, which took place soon after Benyowsky had abandoned the colony, so fully engaged the attention of the French government, that, amidst the tragical and appalling events which crowd the page of history, it was scarcely possible to entertain any new project relating to the occupation of a distant island. St. Domingo was a scene to which much of the public attention of France was at that time directed, and its subsequent separation from that country was an alarming indication of the power which such colonies possess, when they have acquired a practical knowledge of their own physical strength and resources.

The island of Madagascar continued to be visited by European vessels, and some interesting particulars respect-

ing the state of the natives at this period are given in an account of the loss of the ship Winterton East Indiaman, wrecked on the south-western coast, in the year 1792; and as they serve to illustrate the character and habits of the people, and confirm the statements already given, a slight notice of them may not be unappropriate. They are related in a straightforward, manly, but simple and affecting manner by a "passenger in the ship," who was ably assisted in his record of these events by the testimony of Captain Dale, the third and only surviving officer of the ship. The vessel sailed from England with nearly three hundred passengers on board, ten of whom were ladies, and the early part of their voyage was more than commonly prosperous. But on approaching Madagascar, Captain Dundas, the commander, appeared to be somewhat uncertain respecting the accuracy of his calculations, and consequently of the true position of the ship. Under these circumstances, the vessel struck upon a reef of rocks, about six miles from the coast of Madagascar, and a short distance to the north of St. Augustine's Bay, where it shortly afterwards became a total wreck. The whole number stated by Mr. Dale to have been drowned at the time of the wreck was forty-eight, but many more fell victims to the severe and protracted sufferings which attended their escape from the ship, and their destitute and harassing condition after reaching the shore. In their journey from that part of the coast where the vessel was wrecked, towards Tolia, Captain Dale, and his companions in suffering, while travelling along the shore, were highly elated by learning from a native whom they met, that a British ship, which had left England in company with them, was at anchor in that port. The account brought by one of their own party, of the manner in which he had been treated by some king into whose power

they had fallen, was also extremely encouraging; nor were their hopes, excited by this report, beyond what they themselves experienced. "In the evening," says Captain Dale in his narrative, "we arrived at Tullear, (Tolia,) having first to wade the river near the banks of which it lies, and were directed to the king, whom we found in the midst of his principal attendants, armed with muskets and spears, and sitting on mats under the shade of a clump of large tamarind trees. His reception of us was such as I never shall forget. He embraced me with much affection; I offered him a present—one of the few trinkets we had saved from the wreck—but he declined accepting it, and directed his interpreter to tell me how sorry he was for our misfortunes, and also, that he could not think of taking any thing from us, but that he would be happy to give us any thing he had; that the king Baba and king George were one, were brothers, and as such he should afford us every protection in his power."

Captain Dale and his party, seven of whom were ladies who had escaped from the wreck, had travelled about one hundred miles from the place of their landing; and as they had to trace the windings of the shore, often interrupted by jutting headlands, suffering much from the want of water, as well as from the fierce rays of the sun, it must have been a cause of both wonder and thankfulness that any of them reached the place, and more so that delicate females should be able to endure the fatigues and difficulties of such a journey.

The subsequent treatment they received from this king was in all respects consistent with the first reception he gave them. He ordered them to be provided with huts, for which it was not intended they should pay anything; but the agents of the king, eluding his orders, proved themselves

less generous than their sovereign, and made the strangers pay two dollars for each house. The king also allowed them for some time a bullock a day, but on account of the scantiness of his own resources, he was unable to supply them with rice or any other articles of food. These, however, they were able to purchase of the natives, having shared, on the breaking up the vessel, in the sum of money it contained, which is stated to have amounted to 400,000 dollars. When the ship was entirely given up, every one was allowed to take what he could of this money: the weight, however, rendered it hazardous; and in one instance a soldier had so loaded his pockets, that on leaping from the raft, as it neared the shore, he instantly sunk and was drowned.

While the company, conducted by Captain Dale, were thus protected by the king, the remainder of the crew, and those who had been exposed to the greatest hardships, of whom the writer of the narrative was one, were pursuing their tedious way, in the hope of joining their companions at Tolia, though frequently experiencing the kindness and hospitality of the natives, they were so repeatedly robbed, that at last they had nothing left but the few articles of clothing they had saved from the wreck; and in entering one of the villages, they were thankful to find the buttons of their coats available in exchange for potatoes and water, to satisfy the cravings of hunger and thirst, from which they all suffered very severely. After a wearisome journey from this village along the burning sand, they were gladdened by the sight of one of their own people returning from the king's residence to the wreck, with some canoes which the king had humanely sent to assist such as might be unable to walk.

This enfeebled party at length joined their companions

at Tolia, where the king usually resided, and where they remained during the greatest part of their stay on the island. Some of their number, however, fixed their abode at St. Augustine's Bay, distant about fifteen or twenty miles, for the purpose of giving information to the rest, of any ship arriving at that port. An exchange of duty was made by two of the number going at a time to the bay, until sickness overpowered the whole company, so as to render this no longer practicable.

The name of the king to whom they were indebted for so much hospitality and kindness was Baba, though the writer believes it to have been rather an appellation, signifying some patriarchal dignity, than a proper name; and this appears the more probable, as in the year 1754, when Admiral Watson, with a British squadron, remained some time at St. Augustine's Bay, a native chieftain, named Babaw, is said to have resided there, and to have greatly affected English manners and customs. This peculiarity of the people in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine's Bay might probably have originated in the fact mentioned by Flacourt, that the English had in 1642 a military fort at that place. Their number was then two hundred, a fourth of whom died in the space of two years—an instance by no means uncommon, of the extreme insalubrity of the coast of Madagascar at certain seasons of the year.

A brief account of the adjoining country was published by Mr. Ives, who accompanied Admiral Watson; and it is stated by him, that, at the time they visited the island, large quantities of salted provisions could be obtained in exchange for gunpowder, muskets, beads, &c., or purchased with silver coin; which, however, the natives valued rather for melting down and manufacturing into ornaments, than for purposes of trade and currency.

The partiality of the people of this part of the country for English manners and customs, is fully confirmed by the narrator of the loss of the Winterton; who states, that "they shewed a warm attachment to the English, and appeared very anxious to speak the language so as to make themselves understood. Like the inhabitants of Johanna, one of the Comoro islands, they had much delight in assuming the titles of English princes and noblemen." During their stay, no less a personage than the Prince of Wales died at St. Augustine's Bay, where he was governor. He was nearly allied to the king, and died at an advanced age. Many of the people shewed some acquaintance with the English language; and one, whose name was Tom Bush, and who acted as interpreter to the party, spoke it with tolerable ease.

To the character of the natives in this district, the writer bears a high testimony; and it is more than probable that the peaceful and amiable behaviour of the soldiers and sailors, who knew themselves to be thrown entirely upon the mercy of the natives, tended to obtain their confidence and good-will.

"In the various movements," says this writer, "which took place from Tolia to St. Augustine's Bay, and to other parts, no outrage of a personal kind, that I remember to have heard of, was ever offered or received. This conduct was in a high degree creditable to them, as the greater part of the people had no love for us, because they considered, perhaps with justice, that the bullocks and gifts which the king bestowed upon us, was so much taken from them. There were one or two besetting sins to which our Madagascar friends were certainly particularly prone; the first was, the desire of intoxication, from which few, from the highest to the lowest rank, were exempted; and the

other was a desire, almost equally strong, to appropriate what was not their own."

From the serious annoyance which this propensity would otherwise have occasioned, they were, however, kindly protected by the authority of the king, whose uniform generosity towards the shipwrecked strangers was well worthy of the imitation of more enlightened princes. For the sake of protecting the strangers, by his presence, from the aggressions of the people, he remained, at great inconvenience to himself, at Tolia, though they were frequently alarmed by rumours of his being about to remove; and even after he had resolved to go to a village at the distance of fifty miles, on hearing that the English were in too sickly a state to accompany him, his anxiety to remove gave place to his desire to protect them, and he accordingly remained with them to the last.

It has already been observed, that the amount of treasure belonging to the East India Company, on board the Winterton, was very considerable. Much of this was recovered by the fishermen who went off to the wreck, and who, being expert divers, were enabled, at low water, to obtain much that was scattered amongst the rocks; although it must have been, even to them, a work of great labour and difficulty. According to established usage, a part of any article of value procured from vessels wrecked on the coast was presented to the king; and, accordingly, about a fortnight after the arrival of the English party at Tolia, a numerous body of fishermen came to the king, bringing the customary present. The king, attended by some hundreds of his soldiers, went out to meet them; and after a considerable degree of preliminary ceremony, particularly dancing, and firing muskets, the money was delivered. The king, with a munificent and noble generosity, at once ordered a sum equal to

twenty thousand dollars to be given to the officers of the ship for distribution; thus demonstrating the possession of sympathy with suffering, and a disinterestedness in relieving it, that many a ruler of more civilized nations would have failed to imitate. The money was accordingly deposited in an open space in the place where they had been assembled; but before any division could be made, the soldiers and sailors began to seize as much as they could take away. The officers had doubts as to the appropriation of this money; and considering themselves as acting on behalf of the Company, they felt called upon to make an effort to reserve it with that view; but the irregular seizure left no doubt as to the course proper, in the first instance, to be taken, and an application was immediately made to the king for his assistance. The king observed, with much propriety, that he considered the money to be his, and not the Company's, as it had been recovered by his people after the complete destruction of the wreck, and that what he gave was a free gift from himself. As, however, it was his intention that the gentlemen should have a larger share than the people, he immediately sent a party of his soldiers to resume possession: this, however, was not effected without considerable difficulty. On the following day the king invited all who were not incapacitated by illness to attend before him, and a regular systematic distribution then took place, a division of the whole being made into classes, and so many bags of dollars given to each class; which, to the soldiers, proved equal to about eighty dollars each, and to the sailors about one hundred. The gentlemen passengers did not receive more than about fifty each, but to the ladies was given a larger proportion; and to the officers who were considered as chief in command, at the rate of nine hundred each.

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"In order," says the writer, "to appreciate this conduct justly, it must be considered, that money was, to the king and his subjects, a great novelty; and that they attached to it a degree of value probably surpassing that of the most avaricious miser, looking upon it as their chief means of happiness. This passion, no doubt, found in the king's mind a counterpoise in his feeling for our distress; but the effort must have been to him trying in the extreme. I have no correct idea what part he reserved for himself, but conclude it was considerable; and I think it was kept buried in the earth, as I have known the king afterwards ask a dollar out of the very money he had given us.

"Much as there was in his conduct to extol and speak gratefully of, it is a painful thing to draw aside the veil, and to reveal an infirmity in a character so truly exalted as that of our protector; but our poor black prince was not exempt from one of the worst habits of his subjects. He was often seen to have proceeded on his voyage a good deal farther than '*half-seas over*;' but he never seemed to lose recollection, and always maintained a certain dignity. Like the Macedonian monarch, he gave frequent occasion to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober; and, though the idea was not exactly clothed in the garb of classic taste, it was perfectly intelligible, when he used to say, 'To-day brandy speak, to-morrow king speak.' A slight recollection of the circumstances of delicacy attending our situation, must make it appear a remarkable thing, that, dependent as we were, wholly on the bounty and protection of this prince, accustomed, whether in full possession of his mind or otherwise, to have all around him bending to his will, nothing ever occurred, in regard to us, incompatible with the most perfect courtesy. He often visited our huts; but always, even when in an inebriated state, behaved with kindness

and politeness, so that none of the ladies ever experienced the least alarm from his presence.

Amongst other instances recorded in this work of the uniformly generous and humane principles which actuated the conduct of the king, the following deserved to be recorded in a history of the people:—One of the soldiers having behaved improperly towards some of the natives soon after their arrival at Tolia, corporeal punishment was about to be inflicted upon him; when the king, advancing to the spot, took him away, saying at the same time, that he was sure if any of his people had been wrecked in England, king George would not allow them to be so treated; and that he would not, therefore, allow king George's people to be so punished in Madagascar.

It will be gratifying to learn, that, after the return of the English to their own country, which was effected in almost a miraculous manner, after near twelve months' residence in the island, by Mr. Dale's having crossed the Mozambique channel in the yawl belonging to the Winterton, the directors of the East India Company sent out a handsome present to this king, who certainly merited, in a high degree, such a mark of public regard.

Although the worst features of slavery are the same in every country, there is a picture of it drawn by the writer of this interesting work, which, as the subject bears much upon the subsequent history of the island of Madagascar, is too important to be omitted. It cannot be given more impressively than in the writer's own words:—

"Well would it have been if one branch of commerce had never been known in this island; the odious traffic in slaves, one of the severest scourges that Madagascar has experienced from European alliance; and one which Britain has had a large share in inflicting. It rends the

heart to think of the miseries which the people of that island must, during a long course of years, have been enduring from this terrible cause. To judge from what I have seen of the natives—though well, I may say, elegantly shaped, they are not a people possessed of much muscular strength; and the temper of their minds perhaps somewhat accords with the appearance of their bodily frames. Their dispositions, light and cheerful, with considerable intelligence, according to the extent of their means, must be ill adapted to the rugged horrors of an enslaved state. I cannot recall, without painful sensations, the sight of the poor wretches whom I have seen landed from the slave-ships at Mozambique and the Isle of France, weary, sickly, and wasted to shadows, driven along as the lowest description of animals. These poor creatures had been dragged from their homes; snatched from those relations of life which their turn of mind enabled them, in a high degree, to enjoy; hurried on board of vessels insufferably crowded and heated, and brought under the lash of unfeeling task-masters, the most degraded and degrading of our species. As slavery is very indiscriminating, many had, no doubt, belonged to the better classes in their own country; but they were here all reduced to the same level of misery. It would be well if the potentates and ministers of those countries, which yet so stoutly, in effect, oppose themselves to the abolition of this hellish traffic, could be made to see such scenes as I have alluded to. If their hearts could relent, they would not remain insensible to the indescribable distress, of which, thousands, through their means, continue to be every year the unmerited victims; they would surely join in the cry, which the voice of humanity, after the slumber of ages, has so powerfully and impressively raised, and give their aid in proscribing from the earth the com-

merce of human blood and misery, which has so long disgraced the portion of the world calling itself civilized."

Happily for Madagascar, the time was at hand when this numerous and degraded portion of its population would claim the benevolent regard of men more enlightened and humane. Before entering upon this more encouraging view of the subject, a brief account must be given of the general state of the country during the intervening time.

In the year 1792, the French National Assembly deputed Mons. Lescallier to visit Madagascar, in order to ascertain whether it would be practicable once more to establish a colony in the island. On his arrival at Foule Pointe, where the French still maintained a post, he found Hyavi dead, and his son Stacavola reigning in his place. Lescallier was well received by the young prince, and by his prime minister, Rama Efa, who possessed considerable influence over the mind of his master.

The principal object of Lescallier's mission appears to have been that of ascertaining whether the native chiefs were well disposed towards the French. His report, as given in a memoir on the subject in the National Institutes, is highly favourable to the natives, and in an equal measure creditable to his honesty, while it is disgraceful to his countrymen, adding to the varied and incontrovertible evidence of the general conduct of the civilized in their early intercourse with uncivilized nations.

"Europeans," says he, "have hardly ever visited this island but to ill-treat the natives, and to exact forced services from them; to excite and foment quarrels amongst them, for the purpose of purchasing the slaves that are taken on both sides in the consequent wars: in a word, they have left no other marks of having been there, but the effects of their cupidity. The French government has, at

long intervals, formed, or rather attempted to form, establishments amongst these people; but the agents in these enterprises have attended exclusively to the interests and emoluments of the Europeans, and particularly to their own profits; while the interests and well-being of the natives have been entirely forgotten: some of these ministerial delegates have even been dishonest adventurers, and have committed a thousand atrocities. It cannot, therefore, excite surprise, that sometimes they have experienced marks of the resentment of the Malagasy, who, notwithstanding, are naturally the most easy and sociable people on earth."

At the desire of Lescallier, the chiefs entered into a treaty of alliance with the French; but the oaths usually taken on such occasions were dispensed with. The influence of Europeans was now becoming increasingly perceptible amongst the inhabitants of the sea-coasts: many who were chiefs at this time, were the descendants of Frenchmen, who had allied themselves with the natives; and as the offspring of these unions were always held in high esteem by the people of the island, they were generally invested with the rank of nobility amongst them. Besides their being able to speak the French language, the use and value of coin began to be understood, and money was the medium generally employed in their commercial transactions, instead of the exchanges being exclusively a trade by barter. Some of the chiefs had adopted the French costume; and Zacavola himself was frequently habited in a scarlet unform, which had been presented to him by the governor of the Isle of France. In the construction, formation, and decoration of their houses, also, they imitated the French; and the accommodations were so similar to those generally found in the houses of people of good circumstances in Europe, as to excite the surprise of

M. Lescallier. These marks of civilization were, however, confined to the neighbourhood of the trading posts, for in the distant and inland provinces they still retained their primitive manners.

After the visit of Lescallier, no other attempt was made by the French to establish a settlement in the island; the wars which succeeded the revolution giving full employment to the national resources: so much so, that it was at one period in contemplation to extend the conscription law to the Isle of France, for the purpose of supplying the army at home; and during the short peace in 1801, Bory de St. Vincent was sent on an errand of this kind to Madagascar. At that period the emancipation of St. Domingo was completed, and the French government were desirous of supplying its loss by establishing a colony at the former place. The opinion which Bory de St. Vincent formed of the island was favourable to an enterprise of the kind; but he found, in the minds of the inhabitants of the Isle of France, strong objections to the formation of any settlement at Madagascar. It has already been seen to what an extent this jealousy could be carried; and it is, therefore, easy to believe that St. Vincent was not mistaken in the prevalence of such a feeling, which, however, he combats with a degree of sound judgment and patriotism which we cannot but admire.

"Madagascar," said he, "is capable of being made the first colony in the world, and would supply the loss of St. Domingo, if the French government chose. It possesses advantages far superior in many respects to that unhappy country. It would form a fine military position in any war that might ensue in the Indies. Its productions are infinitely more various, labour would be cheaper, its extent is more considerable, and it would afford a good retreat to

those Americans, who, having lost every thing by the revolution, are now dependent on our government, who might distribute lands amongst them, with the means of conveyance, and temporary existence there.

"Many of the inhabitants of the Isle of France and Bourbon, who do not understand their true interests, imagine, that if France undertake to colonize Madagascar, it will interfere with their property; and that all the interest of the government, arising from their intercourse with the Indian colonies, being concentrated on a spot which would stand in need of all its protection, the other isles would be absolutely neglected. These alarms are unfounded; for the government can never have a more direct interest in protecting the Mauritius and Bourbon, than when, having a more important colony in their neighbourhood, they may fear that an enemy will annoy them in the possession of the principal by seizing the environs. Besides, the Isle of France can be considered only as a military post, and Bourbon as its magazine. If France have no other possessions in India, if she determine not to invade Madagascar, and if her Asiatic commerce must remain upon the same footing as at present, she ought immediately to abandon two burdensome isles, which are not worth the expense of governing, and of the protection they demand, only as they may serve alternately for posts and defence."

The attention of the French government was not long occupied by plans for colonizing Madagascar. The war broke out in Europe with greater violence than ever; and notwithstanding all her success at home, instead of increasing the number of her dependencies, France beheld her colonies fall, one after another, into the hands of her persevering rival. It was, however, long before Great Bri-

tain could effect the reduction of the Isles of France and Bourbon. Engaged in extensive enterprises in the European seas, her fleets were fully employed, and the squadron sent against those distant islands was too weak to effect the purpose. Great bravery was displayed in the engagements between the opposing squadrons, and a landing was at length effected by the English on the Isle of France; but an unfavourable circumstance having occasioned the destruction of some of the British ships, the troops on shore were thus cut off from all hope of relief, and were compelled to surrender. The French therefore remained triumphant in those seas some years longer; and in 1807, an attempt was made to form a settlement at Foule Point by some Frenchmen from the Isle of France; but having unfortunately chosen the sickly season for the expedition, they were carried off, almost to a man, by the fever incident to that part of the island.

The continual interruption which the British East India trade experienced from the French cruisers, rendered it absolutely necessary for the government to effect the reduction of their strong-holds in the Isle of France. This annoyance, which was carried to an alarming extent, continued long after the French power in India was extinct. It was calculated that the value of the prizes carried into the Isle of France in ten years, amounted to two millions and a half sterling. The vessels thus taken were emptied of their cargoes, and sold to the Arabs, by whom they were afterwards taken again to Calcutta, and sold.

It was not until the year 1810, that a competent expedition was fitted out, and despatched by the English government against the Isle of France. On its arrival, the resistance it met with was comparatively feeble, and, after a short contest, the governor offered to capitulate, and finally

surrendered the place. There were at that period in the harbour, six frigates, three Indiamen, and twenty-four large merchant vessels, all of which fell of course into the hands of the victors. Soon after this, the Isle of Bourbon was also taken possession of by the British; and immediately after the conquest of these islands, the English sent a detachment to Foule Point, and another to Tamatave, to take possession of the forts formerly occupied by the French in Madagascar.

When the peace of 1814 was arranged, the Isle of Bourbon, which had changed its name to Reunion, was by treaty ceded to the French; but the Isle of France, or Mauritius, as it is more generally called, remained in the possession of the English.

Soon after this period, a proclamation was issued by the governor, Robert Farquhar, esq. (afterwards Sir Robert,) taking possession of Madagascar, as one of the dependencies of the Mauritius, in the name of his Britannic majesty. This circumstance appears to have given great offence to the governor of Bourbon, M. Bouvet de Lozier, who loudly protested against such an act, on the ground of that island not having been formally ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of peace finally ratified in 1816. It is probable that amongst other reasons for objecting to this measure, the mind of de Lozier was influenced by the fact, that the Isle of Bourbon, as well as the Mauritius, was deeply involved in the slave-trade, which the British government had happily renounced, and to which governor Farquhar was openly and avowedly opposed.

In 1815 a party of English was sent over, to form an establishment at Port Loquez with the consent of the neighbouring chiefs; but the whole party was shortly afterwards destroyed by the occurrence of an event in itself comparatively unimportant. One of the petty chiefs in the

neighbourhood, named Chichipi, being disappointed in not receiving a present from the English, went to Mr. Burch, who was appointed to superintend the settlement, to demand a piece of blue cloth. This demand was refused, a quarrel ensued, and some abusive language being used towards Mr. Burch, the latter was imprudent enough to strike the chief, upon which one of the British party was instantly shot.

By the intervention of other chiefs, the affair was made up apparently to the satisfaction of Chichipi, who requested Mr. Burch and his party to meet him the next morning, to settle the matter in a more formal manner. Unsuspicious of treachery, they went unarmed, in order to avoid exciting the jealousy of the natives, and to shew their confidence in the amicable measures to which they had agreed. On their approach, the natives betrayed some symptoms of alarm; but finding the English without arms, or any means of defence, they rushed upon them; and the whole party, except one man who made his escape in a boat, were massacred on the spot.

As soon as this melancholy event was known at Mauritius, Governor Farquhar sent a deputation under the command of Captain le Sage, to make inquiry concerning it. On their investigation, it appeared that Chichipi was the only chief who had taken any part in the business, and that his conduct was so far from being approved by the rest, that he was obliged to abscond with his accomplices, and for some time subsisted in the woods, not daring to approach the coast. He was shortly afterwards apprehended by the natives, and having undergone a regular trial, was condemned by a tribunal of his country, and, although nearly allied to several powerful chiefs, was executed on the spot where the massacre had taken place.

Governor Farquhar was so well convinced by these proceedings of the friendly disposition of the chiefs in general, that another party was sent, to establish themselves at Louquez. As soon as they arrived, the neighbouring chiefs voluntarily came forward, and tendered, their friendship and alliance; and considering that the unhappy affair which had taken place required more ample amends, they ceded to the settlers an extensive tract of land, and large herds of cattle, the former being guaranteed to them in a solemn kabary, in right of a previous purchase.

[Many of the events recorded in the foregoing chapters of this volume are given on the authority of Rochon and Copland; more particularly the latter, whose History of Madagascar is entitled to great credit, as a faithful compilation of the leading events recorded by the French writers in relation to that island.]

CHAP. V.

Notice of the principal chiefs of Imerina—The ancestry of Radama—Murder of his eldest brother—Notice of Andrianonelo—Rabiby, the king in whose reign oxen were first killed for food—Supposed origin of the Jaka festival—Successful attack upon Antananarivo by Andrianjaka—The province of Imerina united under one chieftain or ruler—Character of Andriamasinavalona—Attempt on the life of Iamboasaluma, the father of Radama—His retaliation and extended conquests—His attack upon the capital, and final success—Estimate of the character of Radama's father by the late Prince Coroller—Incident relating to Prince Rataffe—Birth and early history of Radama—Instance of filial tenderness—Temperance and morals of his early years—Opinions, circumstances, and habits of Radama—His court when first visited by the English—Visit of Captain Le Sage to Madagascar—Difficulties and perils of the journey to the capital—His friendly reception by Radama—Ceremonies attending his entrance to Antananarivo—Fearful ravages of disease among his people—Generous hospitality and kindness of the king—Brief notice of Jean René, prince of Tamatave—Notice of Fisatra his brother—His friendly conduct towards the first Protestant Missionaries.

HAVING briefly noticed the leading events in the history of Madagascar, resulting from the intercourse of Europeans with the natives, from the discovery of the island by the Portuguese to the establishment of those relations with the British government which are still in force, it may not be unsuitable to refer to the state of the people at the time when their present intercourse with the English was commenced, as well as to the ancestry, early history, and character of Radama, and his contemporaries, with whom we have been chiefly engaged in all transactions of importance relating to the island.

In a certain stage of their existence, all countries have been divided into districts, each district having its independent chieftain, all these contending for supremacy,

under the influence of the feelings of ambition or revenge, and pursuing their objects by the same means, viz. treachery, bloodshed, and devastation. Such having been for so many generations the state of Madagascar, there remained, at that important era in its history which comprised the reign of Radama, little beyond a slight traditional account of his ancestry, which it may not be altogether unimportant to perpetuate.

It does not appear that the whole island ever submitted to one sovereign, though various chieftains had at different periods extended their conquests beyond the original boundaries of their own provinces. Had any of these been succeeded by men of equal enterprise, sagacity, or success, the petty provinces of Madagascar might have been amalgamated into one kingdom; but it has generally occurred, that, on the death of a successful chieftain, some feeble or misguided son has lost all that the father had gained; and, in some instances, a father, after having acquired a considerable addition of territory, has, at his decease, divided his conquests among his sons; thus, by a mistaken idea of laying the foundation of equality amongst the different claimants, affording them fresh opportunities of jealousy, resulting in an endless succession of seizures and reprisals.

The following is a notice of the principal chieftains in Imerina, in the line of Radama's descent, from a remote period:—

1. Rafrandrano.
2. Rafandrandana.
3. Rafandranpohy.
4. Rafandramanenitra.
5. Ralohafandrana.
6. Ramasinaloha-fandrana.
7. Andriamparamahery.

All these had their capital at Ampandrana, a village to the south of the present capital. The seat of government was afterwards changed, and the following chieftains suc-

ceeded and kept their head-quarters at Merimanjaka, a village to the south of Alasora:—

Andriamiziamizina, son of Andriamparamahery,
Andrianahitrahitra,
Andrianambaniravina,
Ratokana amy ny tany,
Raverisahala,
Ratsimisy to'azy,
Ravady fohy (female),
Rangita (female),
Andriamponga, then
Andriamanelo, who reigned at Alasora, and consecrated the pool at Ifarihy, near Alasora, for the ceremony of circumcision. To him succeeded his son Rabiby, who went to the north, and became chieftain of the village called Ambohidrabiby. His name was afterwards changed into Ralambo, on account of his having killed a wild hog (lambo). Ralambo's son and successor was Andrianjaka, who fixed his capital at Tananarivo. To him succeeded Andriantsimitovy amy ny Andriana, Andriantsoronandriana, and Andriantsitakatrandriana. Whether these last three are so many names belonging to the same chieftain, or the names of three chieftains in succession, cannot now be ascertained with certainty. From Andriantsitakatandriana descended Andriamasinavalona. He also held the seat of his government at Tananarivo, and united all the tribes and clans of Imerina into one kingdom, which after being thus consolidated, was at his death divided amongst his former sons and a nephew. The sons were—

Andriantsimitovy amy ny Andriana,
Andriamananimerina,
Andrianajanakananalona,
Andriantompokindrindra.

The nephew was Andrianamihohara, to whom he gave Vakinisisaona. He reigned at Alasora, and was succeeded by Andriambonimena.

The successor to the first son above-mentioned was Andriambelomasina, whose capital was at Ambohimanga in Avaradrano, and who is supposed to have reigned there at the time of Benyowsky's establishment on the eastern coast, from whence he obtained supplies of fire-arms and ammunition. His son Andriamahery was living in the year 1829 at a very advanced age, and, though blind, still held the hereditary office of guardian of the idol Ramahavaly. The successor of Andriambelomasina was his eldest son Andrianjafy, whose reign was short, and who through jealousy banished his brother Iamboasalama. Andrianjafy had intended his son Ralahitokana to be his successor, but Iamboasalama, who was preferred by Andriambelomasina, succeeded, against the attempts of Andrianjafy, and became sole sovereign. Iamboasalama adopted the name of Andrianampoinimerina, his eldest son being too ambitious, was put to death during his father's life-time, and Radama, brother of the deceased, was then chosen as successor to his father, and became sole sovereign.

The villages of Ambohidrabiby, and Ambohimalaza were given by Andriamasinavalona to his fourth son Andriantompokindrindra. The chiefs of Ambohidrabiby were, however, the first to join the standard of Tamboasalama, in consequence of which he formed an alliance with its principal chieftain by marrying his daughter. Ambohidratrimo was also among the towns which yielded to him in the earliest part of his career. The successful chieftain then married Rahambolamasoandro, sister of the chief of Ambohidratrimo, afterwards mother of Radama.

A few notices of some of these chieftains may further

illustrate the history and manners of this part of the island at the period referred to.

Andriamanelo obtained considerable celebrity as having introduced the ceremony of circumcision, but it is more probable that he only enlarged and improved some particular parts of the ceremony. It is said that he was a Vazimba, and that by means of fire-arms, which he had obtained from traders on the coast, he had subdued all the other Vazimba, and rendered himself the most powerful chieftain in that part of the island.

His son Rabiby, or Ralambo, became more illustrious than the father; and hence is usually mentioned in kabarys as the origin of the present race of princes in Imerina; and, whatever may be the collateral branch of his descent, the princes of Madagascar must be able to trace their pedigree from the renowned Ralambo.

It is said of Rabiby, that he went a short distance from the seat of his father's government to the north, and became chief of a village now called by his name, Ambohidrabiby. It is reported, also, that while he and his people were busy planting rice, one of them killed an animal called the jamōka (bullock), and ate a part of it. Pleased with his discovery, he continued to kill and eat frequently; and in consequence of this, became so much stouter than the rest of his companions, that he was questioned, by the inquisitive chieftain, as to the cause of his newly-acquired corpulency, and after some hesitation confessed the facts of the case. Rabiby, like a wise man, preferring experiment to mere information, very naturally wished to make trial for himself. Finding the beef as good as had been described to him, the chief, far from indulging any jealous wish to keep so important a secret to himself, ordered another bullock to be taken and killed, in order that he might feast his

companions. All approving of the new kind of food, the people were summoned together, two or three bullocks killed, and different methods of cooking adopted, by way of finding out the best. Rabiby sent a small piece to each person; and this is said to be the origin of the "jaka," or present, still observed at the annual festivals. The chief tasted the different parts of the animal when cooked, commencing at the head, and proceeding to the tail, and gave the decided preference to the rump; which part has, ever since, been given, as a tribute to the sovereign, from every bullock killed at the festival and in the markets. Rabiby ordered fahitra, or folds, to be made, in which the cattle might be kept when collected. At the next change of the moon, after the above experiment, he ordered his people to bathe, to kill the bullock on the following morning, and to make the feast; desiring the vodi-hena, or rump, of the beef to be presented to himself. This is said to be the origin of the annual festival, kept, to the present time, in the moon of Alahamady, and of which the principal circumstances are like those related of the chief Ralambo.

It is said of this renowned epicurean, that he found, afterwards, an immense wild hog, which defended itself so bravely, that it required the chief and a hundred of his men to kill it. This animal also made a feast for them, and was found to be excellent food. From the circumstances of so splendid a victory, the chieftain's name was changed from "biby," the animal, into "lambo," the wild hog; and instead of Rabiby, he was ever afterwards called Ralambo.

Many of the nobles in Imerina claim their origin from Ralambo, and deem it no small honour to boast of such an ancestry; pride of blood flowing in the veins of a Malagasy as warmly as it ever does in those of a polished European. The village where Ralambo dwelt still retains his name,

Ambohidrabiby—the village of rabiby, or of animals; and many of the folds he made for the cattle, are shewn there to this day.

The next chieftain deserving notice is Andrianjaka. It is most probable that he was the second son of Ralambo; and was sent, during the lifetime of his father, to make an attack on Tananarivo, with a view to establishing himself as a chieftain there, while his elder brother should succeed Ralambo in the government of Ambohidrabiby. It is reported by some, that he was his father's sole heir; and that, after having established himself at his father's village, he then proceeded to make an attack on Tananarivo. The existence of two distinct clans in the present day, both of whom trace their origin to Ralambo, seems to favour the idea of there having been two sons, and hence affords some support to the first opinion, that Andrianjaka came to Tananarivo while his brother remained at Ambohidrabiby. However this may have been, he made his attack on the north side of Tananarivo, driving the chieftain of that place up to the north-east part of the town, where he put him to death. After this, the people surrendered to him, on condition that neither he nor his descendants would ever ascend to that part of the town where their chieftain was killed; and to the present time the custom is strictly adhered to, no member of the royal family ever venturing to go there.

This chieftain, also, is said to have augmented and improved the ceremonies used at the circumcision, not only by introducing the use of silver chains and other ornaments, but of a peculiar mode of dancing at right angles, and chanting benedictions over the children.

Andrianjaka conferred as a reward upon those who accompanied him in his expedition against Tananarivo, the

pompous title of Zanakambony, i.e. "sons of the above," or "sons of high rank," and their descendants occupy a district which bears their name, as the name of a clan, Zanakambony, the principal village in which district is Ambohipihainana, about eight miles distant from the capital.

The descendants and followers of the eldest son of Ralambo are called Zanatompo, or Zanatompo-indrindra—"descendants of the master," or "descendants of the sovereign;" and their district, to the present time, is called Ambohimalaza, i.e. "the illustrious village."

Both these clans or castes have certain privileges, which they maintain with extreme tenacity. They, only, are allowed to perform the ceremony of burying kings and nobles. They claim the right of carrying the corpse, and of erecting the Tranomasina, or Tranomanora, i.e. "the houses built over the tombs of chieftains;" and to them also belongs the right of repairing the tombs of kings and nobles. They are allowed to build houses, but would look upon it as a great degradation to erect the fences around them. They are exempted from working for the king, except in building houses; yet, by a strange inconsistency, are employed by him in smith's work. Thus they may manufacture the spades, which they may not on any account make use of in digging. The consequence of these strange regulations is, that they are generally poor, and present a striking picture of destitution, accompanied by an astonishing degree of pride; for so high are some of their notions of their own importance, that they will not deign to associate with the common people, nor lend them either a mat, or a vessel for drinking water, nor will they even eat out of the same dish with them. The Zanakambony are also said to be the most strict of all the clans in their adherence to

the customs of antiquity, and in maintaining all the ceremonies of the circumcision, fandroana, &c. As is not unfrequently the case, however, their dignity is their bane. It feeds their pride; their pride generates indolence; and both tend to perpetuate their ignorance. In the year 1824, when mission-schools were first formed in the country, no town pleaded so much poverty as their head-quarters, Ambohimalaza; and this not only because it was their actual condition, but because they hoped, by bringing forward such a plea, to have their children exempted from attendance.

Andriamasinavalona, king or chief of Tananarivo, was the first who reduced under his authority the whole province of Imerina. This chieftain had several wives and a very numerous family. Of twelve sons, whether real or adopted, he appointed four to hold the reins of government, four to attend on his person, and four to be chief officers among the people. But in making this division of his kingdom into four parts, he knew enough of human nature to foresee that at some future period one of his descendants would conquer the whole, and again consolidate the separate parts into one united kingdom.

It is said that with this chief commenced the custom of allowing each successive king "twelve wives," to each of whom is allotted a manakely or estate.

All the descendants of Andriamasinavalona are reputed to be of royal blood. They possess various privileges, amongst which one of the principal is, liberty to intermarry with the royal family.

The character of this chieftain is held in the highest veneration and esteem. He is said to have exercised great care over his district, and to have introduced many important improvements. To him is attributed the highly

valuable and beneficial work of raising the water-banks, by which the rivers are prevented from overflowing the rice-grounds. He is represented as having been a man of considerable talent in the art of government, and of a disposition naturally amiable. His memory, laws, and customs, are still held in the greatest respect, and his name is always mentioned in the public kabarys with a degree of reverence.

Andriambelomasina was succeeded by Andrianjafy. The latter intended to confer the kingdom on his son Ralahitokana, but his father had preferred and appointed an adopted son, Iamboasalama, afterwards called Andrianampoinimerina, father of Radama. Andrianjafy, mortified that an adopted child was preferred to a lawful descendant, contemplated the destruction of his son's rival, and the object of his own jealousy. He laid a plan to effect his ruin, which, however, did not succeed. He invited him to the top of the hill at Ambohimanga, where he hoped to find a favourable moment to throw him over the precipice. This murderous intention was, however, hinted to Iamboasalama at the very moment of danger; and though the attempt was made to push him slyly down the rock, he guarded himself with so much presence of mind as not to betray his knowledge of the snare laid for him, and afterwards embraced the first favourable opportunity to escape from a situation where he knew his life to be in constant danger. In the hope of securing his safety, some of his friends procured an order to send him away as if into banishment; but while conducting him on his way, they discovered the secret of their intentions, and he and his party quickly returned to Ambohimanga, which they seized, putting to death a few only of those who were known to be his most determined opponents. His party having made their entry into the

town, immediately went from house to house, sternly demanding "Who are you for?" If the reply were Andrianjafy, the occupants were speared on the spot—if for Iamboasalama, they were added to his adherents. After a few had been sacrificed, the rest voluntarily submitted; and on the following morning the party set forward to Ambohitany, the next village to the westward of Ambohimanga, and the seat of the renowned idol Ramahavaly. Here they commenced the same inquiry—"Whose cause do you espouse?" To which the inhabitants prudently replying, "The same as Ambohimanga," they were joined to the attacking party, and, proceeding with them to take further possession in the vicinity, without much difficulty make themselves masters of Ambohidrabiby.

In the mean time, Andrianjafy returned home from an excursion, and found to his astonishment that his capital, with its neighbourhood, had revolted, and joined the standard of Iamboasalama. The chief himself being afterwards seized and put to death, Iamboasalama became sole and undisputed sovereign.

Elated with success, and fired by ambition, Iamboasalama then extended his conquests southward, and, after a severe struggle of two years, succeeded in making himself master of Ilafy and its vicinity. He then proceeded eastward, and made war upon Ambohidratrimo, which he subdued, and afterwards married the sister of its chieftain. She was the mother of Radama, and her name Rambolamaso-andro signified "It is still sun," or "daylight." Although Ilafy made the strongest resistance to the power of Iamboasalama, its people have ever since been amongst the most steady and active supporters of the sovereign.

Subsequently to these events, Iamboasalama made his attack upon Ambohitsimarofy, chieftain of Tananarivo.

The circumstances of the death of this chieftain are involved in uncertainty. He is generally supposed to have died by the treachery of his own people, or to have been put to death by the orders of his successful rival in the government. His widow was living many years afterwards at Tsiafahy. His son, Andriamaro-manompo, came from the south, and made a successful attack on Tananarivo. Iamboasalama retired with his party, and the queen was sent for security to Ambohimanga, where her son Radama was born.

After recruiting his forces, Iamboasalama returned to the attack of Tananarivo, which he succeeded in taking possession of a second time, his less powerful opponent being pursued and put to death. Neither this prince nor his father had ever gained the affections of their subjects. They were looked upon as tyrants, and for their arbitrary exactions were deemed robbers of the people, many of whom were taken prisoners during the time of their assaults, and afterwards sold into slavery, most of them being exported by way of Tamatave to Mauritius.

Iamboasalama, determined to maintain the seat of government at Tananarivo, continued there during the remainder of his life. His death took place in the year 1810, in the house called Besakana, situated in the palace-yard where his son and successor Radama lay in state in 1828. He was between sixty and seventy years of age, and had reigned from twenty-five to thirty-five years.

The character of the father of Radama is given in the following words by the native prince Coroller :—

"He was a great man, but not without many vices. He distinguished himself above all his predecessors by his talents and heroism, and by the vigilance, intrepidity, and prudence with which he effected his purposes. His mind

was always active in forming plans, which he was slow in beginning to execute; though, when his operations were begun, he spared no pains in their entire accomplishment. His views were extensive and ambitious; so much so, that nearly the whole of his life was spent in making wars and conquests, though, at the same time, he encouraged his people in commerce and agriculture, and would occasionally work with his own hands for the sake of exercise, as well as to set an example of industry to others. He also encouraged the trade and commerce of foreigners with his people. In his habits and temperament he was opiniative and passionate, so as not unfrequently, in carrying on his wars, to be betrayed into acts of barbarous cruelty; though, at home, his manners were affable and mild. He loved warriors, and admired bravery. His youthful amusements were athletic plays, such as running, leaping, climbing, handling the shield and spear, or throwing darts at a mark. Always sober and temperate in his own living, he enacted laws to prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors into Imerina, as well as the growth and importation of tobacco. He hated all persons of mean and deceitful character, such as calumniators, insulters of elders, flatterers, and hypocrites. He respected hoary hairs, loved justice, and presided frequently in person on the judgment-seat, to watch over the rights of his people, rewarding those who administered justice impartially, and severely punishing every instance of the contrary. He was very eloquent, and liberal and generous to his own people. Yet notwithstanding these home virtues, his political interests induced him to commit many acts of gross injustice towards his rivals and the chieftains whom he conquered. During his reign, Imerina was tributary to the south-west Sakalavas, but Radama shook off the yoke in 1820."

It was after he had conquered the principal part of Imerina, that Iamboasalama changed his name to Impoinimerina, affixing, as usual, Andriana, "chieftain, or noble." Impoin-imerina signifies the "expectation of Imerina," or the "object of desire to Imerina." Impoina being the root of the name, it is frequently used for the sake of brevity. In him the prediction of Andriamasina-valona became verified, that ultimately some one chieftain would form the different districts of Imerina into one kingdom. He, however, did more than this, by adding Imamo and Vonizongo to his empire, besides Vakinankaratra, with part of Antsianaka and of Ankay, though he himself still remained tributary to Menabé.

This prince is universally represented as having been a man of great energy of character, bold, brave, and adventurous, yet possessing an eminent share of prudence, sagacity, and shrewdness. Like other chieftains of uncivilized tribes, he not unfrequently stooped to the petty artifices of mere cunning and chicanery, to serve his purpose. Though generally influenced by maxims of justice, there are exceptions in his conduct, and some actions with which his memory is charged, can be regarded only as deeds of atrocity. To him, however, belongs the honour of laying the foundation of the solid and permanent improvement of his country. He was a man of active, industrious, stirring habits himself, and he greatly encouraged and promoted industry among his people. By his advice and influence the natives made great improvement in the arts of building, working in iron, &c. He rendered himself popular amongst his people by his steady maintenance of justice in the complaints brought before the judges—frequently hearing causes himself, and attending while justice was administered, to see impartiality exercised towards his subjects.

Devotedly attached to the practices of divination, the use of charms, and other national customs, he powerfully maintained the superstitions of the people, and by this means also won and secured their affection and confidence. The use of all spirituous liquors, as well as that of tobacco, he strictly prohibited. Having gained possession of Tananarivo, at a time of universal revelry and intoxication, in consequence of which the inhabitants were negligent and incapable of resistance, Impoina suspected that a similar result might again occur among his own subjects from similar causes, and therefore adopted the precautionary measure of forbidding fermented liquors of every kind, including them all under the general name of "Toaka."

During the reign of Impoina, Imerina and the interior of the country generally became an extensive mart for slaves. These consisted principally of the prisoners taken in war, who were exchanged to the slave-dealers for arms and ammunition, by which farther conquests might be made, and additional supplies for the slave-market procured. The exportations were principally to Bourbon and the Isle of France. Amongst the largest slave-dealers at that time visiting Tananarivo were Jean René and Fisatra.

In addition to the force of his arms, Impoina was occasionally indebted for the extension of his empire to the renown of his name. Many preferred voluntary submission to a resistance from which they could entertain no hope of success, and thus judged it expedient rather to court an alliance with him, than risk an unequal contest, with the chance of expulsion into slavery in the countries of white men. On one occasion, while in Imamo, the people of Mananjary, near Itasy, came to him, and offered submission, on condition of being allowed to retain their

own customs and privileges. They were at that time at war with some neighbouring chief, and Impoina, consenting to their terms, went to their aid. As a mark of respect, the people of the village came out, and met him at the gate; when, to express their confidence and friendship, they presented him with their young prince, and that young prince was afterwards known by the name of Rataffe, to whom Impoina gave in marriage his eldest daughter, Rabodo, the sister of Radama.

The family of Impoina was numerous. His eldest son would, perhaps, have succeeded to the government of the kingdom, but for the fatal consequences of his own ambition. He was general of his father's forces, and had subjugated Vakinankaratra, but at length formed a conspiracy against him; and the offence being proved against him, he was, by his father's orders, put to death.

Radama, the second son, born 1792, was about this time sent by Impoina to make an attack on the Bezanozano, and while engaged in that war was summoned home to assume the reins of government, on the intelligence that his father was at the point of death, if not already deceased. This event occurred in 1808.

The early life of Radama afforded indications of considerable shrewdness and good feeling. An anecdote is related of him in confirmation of this remark. When quite a child, having observed that his father and mother had some dispute, and that the latter had been sent from home divorced, he contrived one day during his father's absence to get a chicken, which he tied to the leg of a chair in the house. His father on his return inquired who had done this, and was told Radama. The child was called, and asked why he had so treated the little animal. He replied

it was a "little chicken crying for its mother." Impoina took the hint, sent for his wife home, and the dispute which had separated them terminated.

Whatever may have been Radama's improprieties of conduct during the last few years of his life, it is certain that his advance to maturity was remarkable, in a licentious country, for self-command, temperance, and moral purity. So strongly marked were these features in his character, that his father questioned whether he could entrust to him the reins of government, regarding the absence of the passions so prevalent amongst all around him, as indicative of a feeble mind. And much as it may betray the viciousness of the habits of the people, yet as illustrative of their manners it must not be concealed, that rewards were actually offered by Radama's father to those who could allure him into the practice of lewdness. Unhappily their efforts were but too successful; and these enemies, under the disguise of friendship, being afterwards supported by others, whose European vices were at least more refined, laid the foundation of an irreparable injury to the character and constitution of a prince, who, instead of falling in the prime of life, when his superior judgment was most needed in the councils of his nation, might otherwise, in all probability, have lived to a good old age, a father to his people, and a blessing to the land of his birth.

It may not be inappropriate in this part of the history to give a brief sketch of the degree of civilization to which Radama had attained, at the period when he was first visited by the agents of the British government.

His manners were at that time, as may be supposed, wholly governed by the usages and customs of his country. The few Europeans, who had previously visited the capital, had gone there neither to seek any permanent residence,

nor yet with any idea of improving the country, nor of refining the habits or elevating the character of its sovereign. To accumulate wealth by the purchase of human beings, was their sole object; and to have introduced the improvements of civilized society, would have been to counteract their own designs. Radama was therefore found, at the time alluded to, in manners, dress, and superstitions, entirely the Malagasy, yet possessing a mind highly susceptible of improvement, and fired with the noble ambition of becoming superior to any of his ancestors. Ambition was, indeed, the master passion of his soul; and however unworthy of approbation this passion may be, when weighed in the scale of Christian morals, it was in all probability the most powerful stimulus in accelerating the progress of civilization under the immediate countenance of this monarch, who was at best a man but partially enlightened, yet whose faults were fewer, and whose excellences greater, than could have been anticipated amidst the unfavourable circumstances of his early years.

When first known to the British agents, Radama was not what he afterwards became, "the enlightened African;" his mind was gradually expanded by European views, and his intercourse with European visitors. He was found, at that time, seated on his native mat upon the floor of his house, and clothed in his native lamba, neither chair nor table being then to be found in his residence. He ate only from silver dishes, and from these none dared to eat but the sovereign himself. Unmindful of the salutary restrictions of his father, he was much addicted to the use of spirituous liquors; for though the law still prohibited them to the people, the law, of course, could not affect him who had the forming of all regulations for the government of his kingdom. For the people, such restrictions might be use-

ful; but the monarch was superior to law, being himself the fountain of legislation.

Nor is it only as relates to the character and habits of the sovereign, and the general state of the court and capital, that the personal narrative of the first British agent, who visited the interior of Madagascar, is peculiarly interesting. The account of his daring and disastrous journey supplies much valuable information as to the state of the country at the time when this journey was undertaken, in the year 1816. Although the mind of Radama had even then made considerable advances towards civilization, yet such was the jealousy with which he guarded his capital, that he allowed no roads to be made by which it might be rendered accessible; and the best season and mode of travelling not being then generally known, the agent, Captain Le Sage, was so unfortunate as to fix upon the most unfavourable time of the year for an expedition, which must, under any circumstances, have been attended with extreme difficulty. A spirit less adventurous than his would have been deterred by the accounts he heard at the sea-coast of the impossibility of travelling to the capital, of the extensive marshes inundated by the overflowing of the streams, and of the great probability of being intercepted between two swollen rivers in a country incapable of furnishing his party with a grain of nourishment. It was not amongst the smallest of his difficulties, that the extreme apathy and indifference of the natives rendered it almost impossible to engage their services on any emergency, while such was the poverty and destitution to which their own improvidence subjected them, that though they would occasionally, without much unwillingness, vacate their miserable huts for the accommodation of his party, they had nothing else but their good wishes to offer them.

Although the general aspect of the country is described by Le Sage as beautiful and luxuriant in the extreme, yet famine and misery presented themselves at every view amongst a people who were contented to suffer the same privations year by year, rather than provide, by their own industry, for the wants of the future.

As he advanced into the interior of the country, the people, unaccustomed to the sight of white men, flocked around them with eager curiosity; but, in other respects, their behaviour was inoffensive, and even obliging, and the chiefs through whose districts he passed, treated him with respectful attention. Nothing, however, which they had to offer in the way of kindness or civility, could, in any degree, compensate for the dangers and hardships to which he was exposed, and which increased considerably as he advanced; and as the numbers who would otherwise have conveyed provisions and other necessaries for his use by the way, were thinned off by sickness and death, some wholly unable to encounter farther fatigue, and others left behind to linger out their few remaining days under the distressing fever incident to the country at that season. Before the party were cheered by the advance of Radama's messengers to meet them, their path had become almost impracticable, the level parts of it lying through undulated rice-grounds, where no solid footing was to be found, the higher over mountains whose sides were so precipitous, that in ascending they could only support themselves by clinging to the roots of the trees. At this time the rain was falling in such torrents, that, to use the words of Le Sage, it seemed as if the cataracts of heaven were opened upon them. It was with the greatest difficulty they kept their footing; the streams and rivers flowing from the hills with such rapidity, as to compel them to slide down many of the declivities.

Under these circumstances the appearance of the royal messengers was peculiarly welcome. An escort of forty men had been sent forward to meet the party, taking with them a letter from Radama, and a hundred head of cattle. No means, however, had been provided for bringing up the sick, who had been left behind, the cattle not being sent as beasts of burden, but as provisions, not of the most convenient description, to eat on the way.

With his usual urbanity of manner, Radama desired his messengers to assure the travellers he should be delighted to receive them, though his letter contained many regrets that, owing to the recent fire in his capital, which had destroyed his palace and the residence of his court, he would not be able to accommodate his guests as he could have wished.

Le Sage observes, that he has generally seen difficulties encountered produce a feeling of satisfaction, but that, in his party, the feeling was far from universal, some appearing to look back with a degree of horror to the miseries they had endured, and with despair to those they expected yet to encounter, though with nothing really to complain of beyond the intemperance of the season, and the extremity of fatigue. These causes, he says, were sufficient to lay many of his companions gasping on the ground, while others, with bitter execrations, declared they would prefer immediate death to attempting farther progress. It is more than probable, that the seeds of incipient disease, of which the victims themselves were not aware, may have occasioned the despondency for which their leader was unable to account.

In passing through Radama's territory, Le Sage was saluted many times by letters and messengers from the king, inquiring how he sped on his journey, and bearing

him presents of poultry and other provisions. By the last messengers he inquired if Le Sage could wait until he assembled all his people to receive him in state, or whether he should receive him simply with his own soldiers, which last proposal was much preferred by Le Sage, on account of the exhausted state of himself and his party. The people now began to bring to the travellers provisions ready cooked, with quantities of rice; the orders of Radama having been, that the chiefs of the territory through which they passed, should furnish the party gratuitously, and on their own demand, with whatever rice, milk, or other provisions they might desire, and these orders were to be obeyed as if they proceeded immediately from the king himself.

On approaching the capital, the party were agreeably surprised by a fresh assurance of welcome, conveyed in a manner by no means indicative of a barbarous state of society. A company of persons, about eighty in number, suddenly appeared running towards them, divided into parties of twenty, and bearing on their heads rice, fruits, and different viands for the refreshment of the travellers, which all partook of on the spot, while the hospitable strangers danced and sang around them. They proved to be some of the most distinguished families forming the court of Radama. Their dress was very elegant, the women being adorned with silver chains, necklaces, and anklets, and their garments, consisting of a dark purple cotton lamba, wound round the body, and hanging in graceful folds so as to exhibit the knotted fringe in the most pleasing manner. The men wore on their heads a silver ornament somewhat resembling a coronet, and round the waist a belt, with a pouch for containing their amulets. They also had silver ornaments like the women, and were

armed with muskets, many of which, instead of brass mountings, had silver ones, and stocks studded with silver-headed nails.

About six miles from the capital where Le Sage spent the night, he received another letter from Radama, expressing his gladness on the occasion of his sleeping so near him that night, and lamenting again that it was out of his power to receive him as he desired, in consequence of the fire having destroyed most of his furniture and other conveniencies, stating that otherwise he should have been able to receive the party, had they been one hundred in number.

As Le Sage and his party, arranged in the best order their diminished numbers enabled them to form, were proceeding to the capital, the following day they were met by ten or twelve men, bearing upon their shoulders a kind of chair for the use of the agent, and sent by Radama with repeated regrets that the fire had prevented his sending what would have been more suitable for his accommodation. Followed by the royal guards, Le Sage proceeded for the rest of the way in this elevated manner, which seemed to afford great delight to the crowds of people who pressed forwards from all parts in the hope of seeing him. When near the bottom of the last hill, before ascending that upon which the capital is situated, they requested he would halt a few minutes until a cannon should be ready to be fired,—the one previously prepared having burst, and another having had to be sent for. In about a quarter of an hour this cannon was fired, and immediately an immense number of soldiers came forward dancing, each with a musket and spear, and some with shields made of bullock's hide. Those who appeared to be the most skilful dancers placed themselves in a great variety of attitudes. Those

who had firelocks did the same; and in the course of the dance fired them off, always on the ground.

While the dance was going on, a general firing took place from the town and all parts of the mountains, and the travellers were soon surrounded with seven or eight thousand men, armed with muskets, which they fired in token of pleasure at the arrival of the strangers. Between twenty and thirty thousand persons appeared on the borders of the town and the surrounding hills, and the immediate multitude were not less than seventy thousand more.

The party belonging to Le Sage then proceeded up the mountain a little way, the increasing pressure of the crowd putting an end to all order; and there being but a narrow pathway, the whole body marched over and trod down the fields of vegetables on the brow of the mountain. Le Sage was then requested to halt again; which he was extremely unwilling to do, on account of the sick, by whom he was accompanied, suffering so greatly from the heat of the sun, and the crowd pressing them almost to suffocation. He was obliged, however, to consent; and, in a few minutes, twenty women came down the hill, each laden with a kind of woven box, in which were all kinds of meat, rice, plantains, and milk, which they presented for the refreshment of the travellers. After this, one of Radama's ministers commanded silence, which was obtained almost immediately, though surrounded by so many thousands. He then addressed the people, saying, that Radama had given their country to his visitor; and on asking them if they consented, they answered, Yes. The minister then, with the same politeness, addressed Le Sage, telling him he was their king, and commanded their country and all that was in it; adding, that Radama commanded only at Mauritius.

The way into the town being of very laborious ascent,

as well as very narrow, rendered it, amongst such crowds of people, extremely difficult. Every time they halted, Le Sage's people fired a volley of musketry, and the people amongst the surrounding hills still continued their firing. The whole of the way to the palace was lined with armed men; and every place was thronged with people to a degree almost incredible, all groaning a dull kind of groan as the party advanced, which custom is with them a great mark of approbation.

On entering the palace, Radama was seen seated on a kind of throne, surrounded by about twenty of his ministers and soldiers; the spacious room being lined with muskets and wall pieces, all of English manufacture. Having shaken hands with the party, who were all seated on mats on the floor, Le Sage placed himself upon a kind of stool covered with white linen, when Radama addressed his ministers and people to the same effect as his minister had done before, asking them if they consented that Le Sage should be their king; to which they all answered in the affirmative. He then told his guest that Madagascar was his, and his own country Mauritius. After some complimentary conversation, Le Sage then presented his credentials, which were read by one of the princes, when the king again assured his guest of the great pleasure his arrival afforded him.

Le Sage here observes of Radama, that his manners and conduct were totally different from those of any prince or chief he had seen in Madagascar. His address was extremely agreeable and prepossessing; and he was, even then, what might justly be termed a polite man.

On every occasion, the British agent was treated by Radama with that peculiar politeness which conveys the strongest assurance of friendly feeling. A house was built for his especial accommodation; and, while his health con-

tinued, he was amused with such pastimes as the court afforded, consisting chiefly of bull-fights.

Amidst the dreadful fatality which took place amongst his people soon after their arrival, his own health, however, failed; and then it was that Radama shewed the most kind and assiduous attentions. Fearing he might fall a victim to the fever which was carrying off so many of his associates, Le Sage made all possible arrangements with Radama, in anticipation of his own death. The presents he had taken with him were consequently delivered in private; and though they would, under other circumstances, have been highly gratifying to the Malagasy prince, yet such was his anxiety for the life of his guest, that his joy was greatly damped; and he remained almost constantly by his bed-side, with the same earnest watchfulness he evinced before the costly gifts were presented.

To the whole of the party, who, many of them, suffered fatally, the kindest attentions were shewn, even during the time when their leader was insensible both to their state and his own; nor was he then deserted by the royal family, who were constantly, four of them at a time, in attendance in his room.

On leaving the capital to return to Tamatave, Le Sage was accompanied by Radama, on foot, for the distance of three or four miles; and it was not until they had proceeded forty miles, that the other members of the royal family, who had escorted his party thus far, left them to pursue the remainder of their way.

Few princes have ever evinced more good faith and honourable feeling, in their transactions with strangers, than this monarch of a barbarous country; and such were the best features in his character, that it is difficult to believe he was, at the same time, addicted to the absurd and super-

stitious practices of his people; yet such was really the case; though while he placed unbounded confidence in the idols of his country, he seemed to acknowledge some one supreme power, being in the habit of speaking of Andriamanitra, or God, as having given him the kingdom. But after all, so extremely vague are the ideas attached by the Malagasy to the word God, that it is uncertain whether the king meant, by the use of it, the idols of his country, his deceased father, or the true God.

In working the sikidy, or divination, Radama frequently presided in person, and especially in any cases of great importance. Charms were objects of unbounded confidence, equally with the monarch and his subjects, and, at the time alluded to, they were sold publicly in the markets; a practice which was afterwards discontinued.

The king has been represented, though without just foundation, as having been cruel and vindictive in his temper. He was not naturally of a savage disposition, but extremely jealous. He sacrificed neither the liberty nor the lives of his subjects out of mere wanton caprice; yet when he entertained a suspicion of any design being formed against his person or his government, then not the nearest ties of blood or friendship could avail to protect the guilty parties from his vengeance. In other cases, however, where he deemed it necessary to inflict capital punishment, it was from his firm and inflexible determination (imbibed, perhaps, in part from the advice and example of his father) to maintain the laws of his country, and to guard against the infraction of them, by exciting a salutary fear in the minds of his subjects, as the best security of the peace and prosperity of his empire.

Such was Radama at the time when the British nation formed its first alliance with him, and first induced him to

suppress the slave-trade in his dominions, and when Protestant Missionaries were encouraged by his sanction and influence to commence their labours in the instruction of his people. Few princes, perhaps, have been found more disposed to elevate the character and habits of their subiects by alliance with foreigners, more sincere and faithful in their observance of treaties and promises, or more desirous of rescuing their people from the dominion of grovelling superstition, by extending amongst them the benefits of education.

Amongst the cotemporaries of Radama, the chief of Tamatave, prince Jean René may justly be reckoned second in importance, from the superior advantages of his education, which enabled him to maintain a very extensive intercourse with Europeans.

This prince was born at sea on board the Elephant, a French corvette, on the 28th of Sept. 1781, while the vessel was on her voyage from Fort Dauphin to Mauritius. His father was a Frenchman, his mother a Malagasy princess of the family of Zafiraminy. Having received his education at Mauritius, he proceeded to Tamatave, where, like other French traders, he was occupied in the nefarious traffic in slaves; and once or twice proceeded to Imerina for the purpose of buying slaves, during the reign of Radama's father. When the English took Tamatave from the French in 1811, they employed René as their interpreter with the natives; and when the English troops were compelled to abandon the place on account of the fever, which swept away almost all their garrison, Jean René was appointed by governor Farquhar to be chief of Tamatave. In union with Fitsatra his brother, who was chief of Anjolokefa or Ivondrona, and aided also by governor Farquhar, he conquered all the neighbouring provinces, and established

his throne by effectually subduing the Betsimisaraka and Betanimena. Though his brother Fisatra was decidedly his superior in many high and honourable qualities, yet being an illiterate man, René was deemed more fit, on account of his better education, to transact the general business of a seaport town.

Jean René has been described by Le Sage as possessing many qualifications for the transaction of affairs, both difficult and delicate in their nature. He was extremely well versed in the finesse of the French language, and on all occasions acquitted himself with extraordinary address, as well as with zeal, intelligence, and capacity. His predecessor in the chieftainship of Tamatave had been a man of tyrannical, unjust, and overbearing disposition, so that neither his subjects nor the European residents under his government were at any time secure, either in their persons or property. After Jean René had obtained the chieftainship by the expulsion of the family of Laval, his conduct was exactly the reverse of that of his predecessor. He granted a firm and liberal protection, not only to the European residents, but to his own subjects, who both admired and confided in him; and such was the general manner in which his authority was exercised, that the government of Mauritius, and his excellency governor Farquhar, deemed him worthy of a title of honour, with which Le Sage in his first voyage to Tamatave had the pleasure of investing him.

In his natural disposition Jean René was extremely gay, fluent in conversation, and distinguished by great good humour. In war he displayed still higher traits of character, by his generosity in liberating his prisoners without ransom, instead of selling them as slaves according to the custom of the country. In directing and controlling popular

assemblies, Jean René was distinguished by extraordinary oratorical powers; and such was the general opinion of his judgment and skill in arranging difficult affairs, that appeals were frequently made to him from the neighbouring chiefs, with whom his decision was considered as satisfactory and final.

With all his superior attainments, however, the character of Jean René was not untainted by his intercourse with those traders, whose chief object in life has ever been found to be the most vitiating and degrading in its effects upon the human mind. His brother Fisatra, though an illiterate man, was of much higher grade as to moral qualities. Older than René, he was for some time associated with him as his superior in the chieftainship of Betsimisaraka and Betanimena. He was a brave warrior, just in judgment, and highly beloved and respected by his people, as well as by European traders generally.

It is worthy of grateful remembrance, that, in the year 1818, he received the Missionaries with the greatest kindness and hospitality, after his brother and the slave-dealers at Tamatave had discouraged, opposed, and shut their doors against them. He not only promised, if they would remain, to send his only son to be instructed by them, but urged all his people to follow his example; and prince Berora Louis René, the only son and heir of Fisatra, accordingly entered the school of Messrs. Bevan and Jones on the 26th of August, and made rapid progress in acquiring the first elements of an English education. On the following December, however, he was taken by Monsieur Sylvan Roux, French governor of St. Mary, to be educated in France, where he died in 1832. He was the first heir of the two chieftains, and prince Coroller was next after him.

Nor was the kind feeling of Fisatra towards the Missionaries exhibited only in these instances of confidence and esteem. When Messrs. Bevan and Jones were attacked with the fever of the country, to which Mr. Bevan and his wife both fell victims, the chief and his people repaired to the place, and, during such a deluge of rain as prevented the attendance of any European, there dug a grave, and performed the last act of kindness for the deceased. In about a month from that time the same melancholy duty was performed in the same manner for Mrs. Jones; and towards their survivor Mr. Jones every kindness and attention was shewn by the barbarian chief and his wife, who sent their own physician and a nurse to wait upon him, and supplied him with every comfort their means afforded.

When the French commenced a settlement at Tamatave, under Sylvan Roux, Fisatra had been established by him at Ivondrona as chieftain of Betsimisaraka and Betanimena; Mons. Roux having supplied him with arms and ammunition, to subdue under his authority and influence all the petty chiefs in these districts, and, associated with his brother Jean René, he had extended his conquests in 1816 as far as the borders of the great forest which separates Ankay from Betanimena. He had, however, committed an unpardonable offence against Radama, by calling him a beardless boy, which induced that prince to invade his dominions in the following year, at the head of 40,000 Hovahs. Fisatra fled from the impending storm to the island of Prunes, opposite the harbour of Tamatave; and there happening to be an English frigate at that time in the harbour, a check was given to the operation of Radama's vengeance, which had threatened the destruction both of Fisatra and his brother Jean René.

CHAP. VI.

Antiquity of domestic slavery in Madagascar—Unwillingness of the natives to sell their slaves to foreigners for exportation—Traffic in slaves for exportation first extensively introduced by the pirates—Probable number annually exported—Different modes by which slaves were obtained, viz. intestine wars, men-stealing, debt, and banditti—Instance of acute suffering occasioned to the parents by the loss of their children—Opinion amongst the people that the Europeans were cannibals, and that the slaves were ultimately eaten by them—Manner in which they were driven from the interior to the coast—Prices at which they were sold—Early measures taken by Sir R. Farquhar—State of the island—Views of the governor of Mauritius, communicated to Earl Bathurst—Mission of Capt. Le Sage to the capital of Madagascar, to negociate a treaty of friendship with Radàma—Kindness of the natives to Le Sage during his illness—Two brothers of Radama sent to Mauritius for education—March of Radama with his army to Tamatave—Return of the king's brothers to Madagascar—Mission of Mr. Hastie to Radama, for the purpose of effecting the abolition of the slave-trade—Objects contemplated by the appointment of Mr. Hastie, as stated by the governor of Mauritius—Mr. Hastie's reception by Radama—Difficulties and perils of the journey to the capital—Arrival of Mr. Hastie at Antananarivo—First public interview with the king.

THE slave-trade is so painfully conspicuous in the history of Madagascar, that before proceeding farther in the narration of the events which have occurred in that country during the last twenty years, it seems requisite to furnish some account of the manner in which that inhuman traffic had been so long and so disastrously operating upon the minds and habits of the people.

There is every reason to believe that domestic slavery has existed in Madagascar from time immemorial; but the savage practice of exporting men as slaves, is said to have

commenced, scarcely more than a century ago, with the pirates who had established themselves in the Isle of Saint Mary's. It is reported in the island, though without any specific information existing on the subject, that the Dutch had previously carried on an occasional traffic in slaves on the coast of Madagascar. However this may have been, the systematic exportation of slaves in large numbers, appears to be correctly attributed to the pirates, who, having been checked by the European powers in their nefarious career at sea, carried into execution the murderous plan of fomenting wars between some of the provinces in which they had traded on the eastern coast of Madagascar, and inducing the victorious to sell their prisoners in exchange for arms and ammunition.

Rochon affirms, that various efforts had been made at former times by European traders, to induce the natives to sell their prisoners and malefactors, all which proved unsuccessful. The "better feeling" of the savages resisted these unprincipled attempts of the "civilized" traders, and it required no little malignant policy to overcome the natural antipathy they felt to so outrageous an offence against humanity. This may possibly have been the case among the tribes by whom Rochon was surrounded; but it is evident, from the testimony of Drury, that slaves were sold to white men, and taken for sale to other countries, before the pirates became the chief slave-factors in the island. Deceived, however, by the artifices of the pirates, whom they never suspected of treachery, and whom they had long courted as friends, without knowing their real character and pursuits, the Malagasy became the victims of the most atrocious perfidy, and that, too, under the impression, that as the whites were a superior race of men, they could not materially err in following their advice. By wars of retaliation,

the natives became scourges of one another, plunging each other into inextricable misery, wasting each other's resources, depopulating each other's territory, and affording satisfaction to none but men who were unworthy of the name, and whose rapacious avarice could be equalled only by their cruel contempt of human rights and human misery.

No data exist, by which to ascertain, with certainty, the exact number of human beings expatriated from Madagascar during the past hundred years, and plunged into abject slavery. An average, formed on a moderate computation, amounts to not less than three or four thousand per annum; and this may be considered as rather below than above the actual number. The aggregate presents a frightful amount, to be mentioned only in association with the most atrocious deeds; but it exhibits only a fractional part of the outrage, violence, cruelty, and misery, produced by this most horrible system of immorality and avarice, robbery and murder.

The trade having commenced on the coast, and the pleasure of its gains gradually expelling all sense of the injustice of the traffic, it soon extended to the interior of the island, withering all before it, and desolating, like a pestilence, wherever its baneful influence spread—as it always has done, and will continue to do, until it ceases from the earth.

With the increased demand for slaves, the supply was consequently increased. Various modes were then employed to obtain slaves for sale, and all these were characterised by deceit and treachery, violence and cruelty. Every man's hand was against his brother; and he who could seize or ensnare the greatest number of his fellow-beings, for whom he could obtain the factor's price, esteemed himself the most fortunate man.

The most effectual mode of obtaining the unhappy victims of this system in large numbers, was by war. As on the continent of Africa, so on this great African island, the chiefs were in the habit of making attacks on one another, whenever the occasion of a quarrel could be found, and then securing in the contest as many prisoners as possible, whom they afterwards disposed of to the slave-traffickers. Hence, the principal aim in these intestine wars was, not so much the slaughter and extirpation of the opposite party, as the seizure of the living; and often the struggle would be to capture a chief or noble, in which case a large sum of money would be paid by the relations and friends, or a number of slaves would be given for his ransom.

For these reasons, the conflicts were less sanguinary than they have been since the introduction of fire-arms and the suppression of the slave-trade, though the actual amount of crime, cruelty, and suffering may not have been less. It was not unfrequently that whole villages were swept off, and their inhabitants separated, and sold into different and remote provinces, never to be associated again. Vestiges of such villages remain to the present day, exhibiting a waste where cultivation had formerly smiled, with fragments of deserted and dilapidated walls, where once the cultivators of the adjacent fields had found their home; a home to them, perhaps, as sweet as the mansions of the rich in other lands, whose luxury and wealth had, perhaps, been augmented by the extirpation of these very people from the land of their birth—and their consignment to hopeless captivity and an early grave.

In addition to these wars, an extensive system of kidnapping prevailed, by which children, domestic slaves, and others, were entrapped in the fields and neighbourhood of villages, by the gift of some money, a piece of cloth, or other

tempting bait; and being once lured within the power of the deceiver, he securely guarded his prey until it was conveyed to some place of rendezvous, and then sold into the hands of traders. It is an affecting circumstance, but well worthy of attention, that, to the present day, the people of Madagascar are extremely jealous of Europeans who *give* money, under any circumstances, to the natives, even for the purest charity.

It is well known, that many slaves were also obtained for sale, by means of a cruelly treacherous pretence of hospitality. Persons passing near a house would be invited to enter, agreeably to the customs of the country, and, on accepting the invitation, would find that they had sealed their own ruin. At the moment of entering the house, they would fall into a large pit or rice-hole prepared for that purpose near the door, but carefully concealed from observation by means of a mat or other covering placed over its mouth, and this mat strewed with earth or other materials to resemble the rest of the floor, and so prevent any suspicious appearances. Thus taken in the pit which the wicked had digged, they were handcuffed, and sold into slavery.

It is related, that on one occasion, a party of Europeans, landing from a slave-ship, pitched their tent upon the shore, and, inviting a number of the unsuspecting natives to partake of their hospitality beneath its shelter, the whole floor of the tent fell in, and about thirty individuals were secured by being plunged into a pit previously prepared for the purpose.

In many cases persons were obtained for sale under shadow of law. A man who had borrowed money, and was unable to refund it when payment became due, was reduced to slavery, and made the property of his creditor.

Instances of this kind were by no means of rare occurrence. There was no want of persons willing to *lend*. Money was always at hand, and would frequently be offered to those who appeared *good subjects for sale*, with the full hope and intention of immediately securing payment by the seizure and sale of the borrower. For the low sum of half a dollar as the original loan, with an addition of an exorbitant interest of 100 or 150 per cent., many have been deprived for ever of their freedom. The principle of the law remains in operation to the present time, the only difference being that the slavery is domestic instead of foreign. Whoever is found unable to pay his debt, and the heavy interest, it soon accumulates, (that being even now from 30 to 100 per cent.) must be sold for the benefit of his creditors, and his bondsman, if he have one, must share the same fate, if this be necessary to make up the deficiency.

The slave market was also supplied by means of daring and powerful gangs of robbers who infested the country. These concealed themselves usually amongst rocks and caves, and from these retreats made occasional sallies on small villages, or on individuals passing by, and, having seized their unfortunate prey, they guarded them safely until means were found for disposing of them advantageously to the traders or their agents. These gangs frequently assumed a most formidable character, overawing the neighbouring population, and requiring all the power of the chieftains for their suppression.

While such was the state of the country, it will not excite surprise that persons were usually afraid of travelling alone, or of sending messages by their servants, unless two or three went in company, or that by night none dared to venture out of their houses, lest in an unexpected moment they should be seized, carried off, and sold: and it is needless

to add, that the existence of the slave-trade was the reign of terror in Madagascar.

One instance related by Mr. Hastie, in his journey through the country, will give some idea of the hopeless misery of those who suffer from this worst of evils that can afflict and desolate a country.

"At Ambatomanga," says Mr. Hastie, "I witnessed a scene of uncontrollable grief in a poor woman. She had quarrelled with and parted from her sister, about a week before; and while the man who acted as her protector was absent with some iron-work for sale, the sister had stolen her daughter, a girl of fourteen, and sold her to the nephew of Jean René, who had been to the capital, most probably for the purpose of purchasing slaves. On learning that her child was sold, the woman immediately followed in the track of the purchaser, taking with her two slave-boys, in the hope of exchanging them for the girl. She failed, however, in prevailing on the dealer to allow the exchange, and returned about the dusk of the evening in the most distressing situation, and without the least expectation of redress."

Thus, by means of wars, kidnapping, debts, and robberies, the traders were constantly furnished, and large supplies were usually kept on hand at the capital, to which place the traders came up from the coast at different seasons of the year, carrying with them an extensive assortment of goods to exchange for slaves, and of money to effect purchases. Natives were often employed to attend the regular markets where slaves were publicly sold, and to obtain them there at the market price; and as such agents received a premium on the purchase for themselves, their cupidity increased their diligence, and the immense profits they reaped attached them to the traffic. Hence it is obvious that many different parties felt an interest in the continu-

ance of the trade, and, as will appear in the progress of this history, made the most strenuous efforts to oppose any treaty for its abolition. They, least of all could sympathize in the delight manifested at the capital, when that result, so grateful to every lover of humanity, was secured and published.

The observation of Rochon is perfectly correct, that for a long time the natives entertained the belief of *European* cannibalism. Such an opinion is not unfrequent in Madagascar at the present time, and was found to constitute a difficulty in the early establishment of Mission schools.

Within the last eighteen years, parents have actually concealed their children in rice-holes, where some were suffocated, under the appalling and monstrous supposition that these schools were intended only to be treacherous means of entrapping their children, to satisfy the demon appetite of the whites for the flesh of their offspring! "The Europeans," said the parents, "always came here before, to steal us and our children. What could they want with such a booty, but to eat them? And now they come under a pretence of teaching our children; and, having once got them into their power, they will carry them away as in former days, when they must share the same dreadful fate which others have met in past days." The Missionaries lately resident on the island have had to encounter the very same objection—an objection which, however false and preposterous, it is not easy to refute to the satisfaction of a native, in whose fears, suspicions, and profound ignorance of foreign manners, it has originated. If, however, it strongly marks the folly and ignorance of the Malagasy, it stamps a well-merited censure on those who, by their practices as slave-traders, first awakened the revolting supposition. They have destroyed

the peace, the happiness, the freedom, the lives of thousands, and well may they bear the stigma which the Malagasy reproach conveys, of "European cannibals."

When the traders had obtained a sufficient number of slaves at the capital, or any part of the interior, by purchase or exchange of goods, they were conveyed in parties varying from fifty to two thousand, down to the sea-coast for exportation. On commencing the journey, their wrists were usually fastened by means of an iron band. They were then corded one slave to another, and through the whole distance compelled to carry provisions on their heads. Thus driven like cattle to the sea-side, they no sooner arrived there, than they were stowed away in ships, and conveyed to their final and fatal scene of misery and toil, unless their sufferings terminated in death during the passage. The slaves from Madagascar supplied the Isles of France and Bourbon, others were conveyed to North and South America, and some even to the West Indies. The vessel in which Robert Drury obtained his release from Madagascar, in 1717, discharged her cargo of Malagasy slaves at Jamaica.

An affecting memorial of the many scenes of sorrow and separation which must have taken place under this cruel system, is described by Mr. Cameron as having existed even at the time he was in Madagascar, and we cannot but join with him in the hope that it will not long exist. There is a hill on the way from Imerina to Tamatave, which has obtained the melancholy appellation of "*the weeping-place of the Hovahs,*" because from that eminence they first beheld the sea, when prosecuting their miserable journey to be sold in the slave-markets on the coast; and here it is more than probable they would give vent to all the anguish of their hearts under the twofold influence of exile and slavery.

The price at which slaves were usually bought at the capital varied from thirty to fifty or sixty dollars per head, and on the coast from forty to eighty. These, on reaching Mauritius, a voyage of not more than ten days, would average from one hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars per head, and for some even so much as four hundred have been given. The trade was therefore sufficiently lucrative to form a powerful temptation to many. The heart was steeled, while the coffers were replenished. Human misery was insulted, while avarice triumphed in the spoils, and idolized her gold.

It reflects lasting honour upon the English nation, that no sooner did Madagascar come within the immediate influence of Great Britain, by her having taken possession of the Isles of France and Bourbon, with their dependencies, than a series of efforts was commenced, with a view to the ultimate annihilation of the traffic in slaves throughout that extensive island. To the honour of Sir Robert Farquhar, in particular, it is worthy of being recorded, that no exertions were wanting on his part, to carry this noble purpose into effect, whether such exertions demanded talent, labour, influence, or money. The measures pursued in furtherance of the design of abolishing the slave-trade in Madagascar, will very properly form a part of the plan of the present work, and cannot be deemed uninteresting to the humane and enlightened reader.

Sir Robert Farquhar, governor of Mauritius, having, by various means, obtained much valuable information respecting the state of the different provinces in Madagascar, together with a tolerably correct idea of the power, resources, and dispositions of their different chieftains, found, on a general survey of the whole, that the province of Ankova might be considered the most important in a political point of view,

and that the chieftain Radama was amongst the most enlightened, energetic, and powerful princes in the island. And this opinion was established and confirmed by information obtained from persons trading from different ports in Madagascar, and occasionally visiting the interior of the country.

The following letter from the governor of Mauritius, addressed to Earl Bathurst, and dated Port Louis, 12th September, 1816, farther explains the views and intentions of this benevolent man:—

"I beg leave to state to your lordship the arrival, in this island, of two young brothers of Radama, king of the Ovahs, the most powerful of the princes of Madagascar; an event which may be of considerable importance to the inhabitants of these colonies, and which may be followed by advantageous results for the ultimate civilization of Madagascar.

"The different chiefs and sovereigns of the island had been inspired with much jealousy and distrust of the British government, by the artifices of such of the French traders as had been interested in the slave-trade, and whose traffic was suppressed by the establishment of the British government in these islands.

"I therefore thought it indispensably necessary for preserving the harmony which should subsist between the British merchants and other subjects settled at Madagascar, and the native princes, to send a person properly qualified to the latter, in the hopes of forming a lasting peace, and procuring protection to his majesty's subjects in that island.

"One of his majesty's subjects, a Frenchman, of the name of Chardeneaux, was indicated to me as peculiarly adapted for the accomplishment of this service, from his long and intimate acquaintance with the different native chiefs, and particularly from the friendship which had subsisted between him and Radama, king of the Ovahs, for many years.

"As my desire was, at the same time, to endeavour, by every amicable means, to cut off one great source of supply for the slave traffic, and as such a mission would at first appear as eminently

embracing the interests of the native princes, I was the more disposed to accept the services of M. Chardeneaux on this occasion.

"Subjoined is the copy of a private instruction on this head, which I furnished to M. Chardeneaux, and his answer.

"Of the brothers of Radama, now arrived here, one is the presumptive heir of his authority; they are accompanied by two of the chief ministers of their prince, by a son of one of the nobles of the nation of Betaniminies, three ministers of the king of Tamatave, two chieftains of the south, and a numerous suite.

"We have reason to look on the persons now here, on the part of their respective sovereigns of Madagascar, as representing all that is powerful in the centre and on the coasts of that vast island.

"Of those sovereigns, the most warlike, most intelligent, and possessing the greatest means, is Radama. His people are the most industrious, and farther advanced in the arts of life, than any other nation of Madagascar; and he has incorporated into the mass of his subjects, and reduced to his authority, all the surrounding petty states; his army consists of forty thousand men, armed with fire-arms.

"It therefore appears that the friendship of so powerful a chieftain cannot fail of being eminently useful in assuring the safety, and facilitating the commerce which may be undertaken with a view of replacing that traffic in slaves abolished by the legislature.

"These friendly bonds will, no doubt, be strengthened, and the prospect of growing civilization opened, by the opportunity now given to the young princes to learn the arts and customs of European life, and the principles of our religion.

"The king Radama is himself eager for instruction; writes his language in the Arabic character, and is learning to write French in Roman letters. His brothers, who are arrived here, appear very intelligent for their age, which is about nine or ten years, and capable of acquiring every requisite principle of morals and religion.

"There is a British missionary here, of the name of Le Brun, who has been remarkably successful in the education of the numerous class of free coloured people with which this island abounds; and he has conducted himself with so much discretion, as not to have given the smallest offence to any of the inhabitants, although

his employment is of that nature to be viewed with jealousy by colonists in general. It is my intention to propose to this man to proceed to the court of Radama, and reside there; by which means I shall have constant communication with the interior of Madagascar, and be able to make the best use of the friendship of that prince, for the mutual interests of our respective countries.

"I trust your lordship will not disapprove of those peaceful and unexpensive overtures to a more constant and safer intercourse with the island of Madagascar; means of this nature will enable us to push our commerce farther than the forts and garrisons which have hitherto afforded protection to the merchants who traded thither. The former governors of these islands have, in every period of their history, in vain endeavoured to obtain that friendly footing which is now sought and offered to us by the native princes.

"I shall not intrude longer upon your lordship's time, by any exposition of the political value of Madagascar, as forming an appendage to the British sovereignty in these seas, as my former letters have been sufficiently explicit on that head; but I may be allowed to observe, that it appears to me, that the means are at present in our hands of cutting off, in a great measure, at its source, the slave-trade in these seas, and that I shall not neglect so favourable an opportunity of availing myself of them to the fullest extent."

Such were the means adopted to induce Radama to send over to Mauritius two of his younger brothers, Ratifikia and Rahovy, for the purpose of receiving an European education. At the close of the same year, a mission was sent by Governor Farquhar to Imerina, the district of the Hovas, and part of the province now called Ankova, conducted by Captain Le Sage, attended by several persons of ability, with the intention of forming a treaty of friendship and peace with Radama; in which prudential step was laid the foundation of a future connexion of a more specific and permanent nature. It would have been

impolitic to have developed, at this early stage of the proceedings, the great design of endeavouring to effect the abolition of the slave-trade, as many powerful and influential parties had at that time an interest in maintaining the traffic; and such individuals being but too likely to sacrifice humanity at the shrine of mammon, and thus to render abortive a scheme which they knew must, if effected, deprive them of their accustomed gains.

Captain Le Sage's party consisted of himself in the capacity of agent, a medical gentleman, about thirty soldiers, a Monsieur Jolicœur as interpreter, several artificers who had been sent to Mauritius as convicts from India, Verkey, who was at that time in the employ of the traders, but afterwards sent to England, and some others. The soldiers were sent with a view of exhibiting to Radama the military manœuvres of disciplined European troops. A great proportion of this party unhappily fell victims to the Malagasy fever, in consequence of having travelled through the country at the rainy season; and this circumstance is said to have confirmed an opinion long entertained in Mauritius, of the greater insalubrity of the interior of Madagascar than of the coast. The fact is, the proper season and mode of travelling up the country were not at that time understood. It is now found that persons, who have lived some time on the coast, enjoy better health there during the rainy season, than if they retire into the interior. Persons newly arriving in the island, consequently not acclimated, if they venture to travel during the rainy season, are then liable to the dreadful disease, which generally proves fatal to strangers remaining under such circumstances at the capital, although they may have enjoyed after their arrival a few days of health. Experience has shewn that a period of about ten days

forms a crisis. Those who reach the capital, and pass ten days without an attack, may consider themselves safe, as the fever has invariably been found to manifest its symptoms within that period, if at all.

The disastrous journey of Le Sage has already been partially described, but sufficient cannot be said of the kindness and attention he experienced at the court of Radama. On one occasion, at a very discouraging stage of his disorder, when his own medicines appeared to be ineffectual, his case was undertaken by the natives, who faithfully persevered in fomentations of boiled herbs, and in the use of vapour baths, until their patient was at one time nearly suffocated. Their mode of treament proved for a while extremely beneficial, but a relapse coming on, it was then that Le Sage, anticipating for himself the fate of his companions, endeavoured to transact all his official business with Radama, though under the necessity of doing so in the most private manner.

After a long season of insensibility, from which Le Sage awoke to learn the melancholy tidings, that seven of his companions had fallen victims to the same dreadful malady under which he was suffering, his anxiety to fulfil, to the utmost of his power, the trust committed to him, induced him to hasten the ceremony of taking the oath of blood with Radama before his strength was equal to the task. This ceremony was performed on the 14th of January, 1817, after which the standard only remained to be presented in public; all the other presents having been given in his sick-room. It was not until the 4th of February, that the treaty, which had been kept secret between Le Sage and Radama, and which had at other times been slightly touched upon, and pressed as far as delicacy would permit, was finally concluded, it was hoped, in a manner

which the governor would approve; and on the following day the agent, with his diminished party, set off from the capital on their return to Tamatave, from whence, after many attacks of fever, he sailed for Mauritius.

Mr. Brady and another British soldier were left behind at the capital, by Radama's particular request, for the purpose of instructing his people in European tactics. The latter rendered himself odious by his extreme severity; but Mr. Brady secured the good-will of the natives, and continued long to enjoy the esteem both of the people and of their sovereign.

Although no plan for the abolition of the slave traffic had yet been matured with Radama, care had been taken to explain to him, as opportunity occurred, the unavoidable evils of the destructive and depopulating system which had been so long pursued, and the incalculably greater value of the labour of his people on their own land than of any remuneration he could obtain for their sale and transportation. Nor was it difficult to render such a view of the case clear and comprehensible to a mind like Radama's, open as it was to conviction, capable of reflecting and reasoning, and ready to listen to any suggestions not trenching upon, but calculated to augment and consolidate, his own resources, authority, and independence in the island.

The two youths, younger brothers of Radama, sent for education to Mauritius, were placed under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Hastie, with detailed instructions on the most enlightened principles carefully drawn up by his excellency the governor of Mauritius. In the month of July, 1817, they returned to Tamatave, accompanied by Mr. Hastie, and were received there by Radama himself, who had gone down to the coast at that period with about 30,000 of his people, partly for the purpose of receiving

his brothers, and partly to suppress some provincial disturbances, as well as to form some political arrangements on the coast, and to prove that he was not a "beardless boy," as he had been insultingly designated by Fisatra, chieftain of Hivondrona.

As soon as the information of Radama's approach reached Tamatave, the British agent, Mr. Pye, who, in consequence of Le Sage's ill health, had since the time of his departure acted as British agent at that place, set off in company with Mr. Brady, and some other Europeans, to obtain an interview with the king, and to facilitate, if possible, a good understanding between him and the two chieftain brothers, Jean René and Fisatra. Radama encamped at Hivondrona on the southern bank of the river; and here, while Mr. Pye and his companions endeavoured to dissuade him from crossing the river, the British frigate the Phæton, commanded by Captain Stanfell, and having on board the two princes with Mr. Hastie, arrived in the roads of Tamatave. Jean René wisely took the precaution of escaping for protection to this vessel until the affair should be arranged, his brother having previously fled for refuge to the small island of Prunes, lying a little to the northward of Tamatave.

Radama having, on explanation, fully met the views of Mr. Pye, he marched forward with his people to Tamatave, where final arrangements were entered into. Jean René then took the oath of blood with Radama, and was designated the zoky, or elder brother of Radama, but still subject to his authority. Fisatra remained at his place of retreat in the Isle of Prunes, until the king departed for Tananarivo, when he returned to Hivondrona.

The letter of instructions from his excellency the British agent, Mr. Pye, conveyed by Captain Stanfell, of the ship

Phæton, contains so much that is important in the mission of Mr. Hastie to the capital, and is so fraught with benevolent and noble feeling, that little apology is required for quoting it considerably in detail. Would that the transactions of all enlightened Europeans with barbarous countries had been marked with the same characters of justice and true wisdom!

This letter is dated, Mauritius, 28th June, 1817, and addressed to Mr. Pye, assistant civil agent at Madagascar. After some preliminary matter, the secretary, who writes on behalf of his excellency, proceeds:—

"Captain Stanfell having been so obliging as to take the young princes of Ovah on board his majesty's ship Phæton for a passage to Madagascar, at the request of his excellency the governor, I am to direct that they may be received with due honours and distinction on their arrival at Tamatave.

"The accompanying letter to king Radama, together with its enclosures, will fully explain to you the steps that have been taken by his excellency for ensuring to the natives of Madagascar, and the cause of humanity in general, the permanent benefits which the young princes have received here, by its speedily leading to the total abolition of the slave-trade throughout that interesting and unfortunate island.

"His excellency has ascertained from the best authorities, that the slave-smugglers have met with great difficulties this season in procuring slaves. His excellency attributes this happy result, which has already been obtained, from opening a communication and contracting an alliance with the most powerful of the Madagascar states, to the representations made to Radama last year, through the medium of his aid-de-camp, Captain Le Sage; and he doubts not that the present mission, combined as it is with

the return of the heir-apparent, and his brother, to King Radama, after an education at Mauritius, founded on the best principles of humanity, and the first rules of good government, will not fail to crown his excellency's endeavours towards that main object, with complete success.

"Should your health permit, you will accompany the princes to the king of Ovah: and as you are already in possession of his excellency's instructions to Captain Le Sage on the last mission, it will be unnecessary to give you any particular orders on the general objects of useful inquiry or observation.

"Mr. Hastie, who has been the preceptor of the princes, was first brought to his excellency's notice by his distinguished zeal, activity, and intrepidity, in saving the government house at Port Louis, on the 25th of September last, from destruction by the flames, which had already communicated to the roof, and which were extinguished only by his exertion at the peril of his life; he was, in consequence, recommended home for a commission in his majesty's army, which he has every reason to expect shortly from the justice and liberality of his royal highness the Commander-in-Chief. His merits in conducting the education of the young princes have been most exemplary. He is, therefore, entirely to be depended upon, and the information he has acquired from his early habits of intercourse with the Ovah princes, chiefs, and followers, may be highly useful to the mission. It is, therefore, his excellency's desire that he may be considered next in rank to yourself at Madagascar, and treated with all that consideration to which he is so justly entitled.

"Should ill health, or any other accident, prevent your fulfilling the present mission yourself, the whole of the instructions, rules, and documents relative thereto, are to

be given over to Mr. Hastie, with such further information as you may be able to afford him from your local knowledge and experience.

"The fine season being now set in, there can be no risk of sickness until the beginning of November; but it is not his excellency's intention that either yourself or Mr. Hastie should remain at Ovah, unless peculiar circumstances should occur to render it necessary or expedient; intelligence of which must be forthwith forwarded to Mauritius. It is intended that after having delivered over the princes to the king their brother, and gone through the usual ceremonies, you should enter with them confidentially into the views of his excellency respecting the abolition of the slave-trade. You will then return without delay to Tamatave, or, if necessary, to Mauritius, in order to submit the result of the mission to his excellency. Mr. Hastie is on no account to be detained in Madagascar contrary to his inclination.

"His excellency is aware the important object in view cannot be accomplished with precipitation. It must be the effect of persuasion and address. That object is to convince a semi-civilized despot, that it is more advantageous to him to keep his people in his dominions, and by their labour to provide those articles which his country produces in sufficient quantity to exchange for the merchandise of Europe and India, which he requires, than to depopulate his country by the sale of his subjects, and of his unfortunate neighbours, whose country he lays waste in order to gratify his desires. The object is to convince him that the means in the latter case must diminish every day, and at length be exhausted; whilst the opposite line of conduct would ensure to him and his country a certain and progressive augmentation of wealth.

"With this view, the cultivation of the valuable articles of exchange furnished by his country, must be encouraged, and new means of industry must be pointed out to him. He must, above all, be imbued with the necessity of making easy and safe communications and roads to the sea-coast. He must be taught to transport the produce of his country on beasts of burden, with which Madagascar abounds, until his people learn the use of draft carriages, and thus quadruple the resources of agriculture. They must be taught how to turn their forests and mines to account, and also to double their means of existence by the introduction of the various farinacious roots and plants which have been naturalized, and now grow in the greatest plenty at Mauritius. By augmenting the rational enjoyments of life, they will be initiated in the arts, and gradually become civilized as they become more happy.

"The natives of Madagascar are idle, and consequently poor. The object is to convince them that labour is the foundation of riches, or that riches consist in labour. Present to them, to this effect, a compensation for their work.

"It will, of course, be necessary to furnish them with those articles they have been accustomed to sell slaves for, and receive in exchange their raw silks, cottons, gums, indigo, and even make advances at first to engage them to furnish those objects in abundance. An example should be given to the people, and that example should be the king himself. The agent should teach him how to erect a house in the European manner, to make a garden, to form bands of foresters and woodcutters, blacksmiths, and carpenters, and useful plantations of every kind, and thus show him how to employ to advantage the great number of men he has at his disposition. Amongst the Indians sent to Ovah, there are many capable of teaching and aiding

him in these first arts. There are labourers and others among them who understand perfectly the breaking in and management of cattle. It is difficult to persuade a whole people, but a despotic king can abridge the task. If he himself be persuaded, he carries all the rest with the current.

"The king of Ovah must be the first merchant, chief cultivator, gardener, and artisan, as the best means of teaching his ignorant subjects to become so.

"The two Europeans left last year in Ovah, at Radama's request, and the Indian artisans and labourers, are to return or remain with him according to their individual inclinations. You will make particular inquiry into their conduct since they have been at Ovah, and minute in your diary every circumstance that has made a favourable impression or otherwise on Radama, whose sincere and cordial good wishes and attachment are indispensable to the permanent success of the object of the alliance with that prince.

"Enclosed is a list of the articles for Radama; and for defraying the expenses of your journey, you will employ such part of the stores at Tamatave as may be requisite. His excellency has ordered four hundred dollars to be forwarded to you in specie. Of the whole of the above you will keep an exact and detailed account, observing the rule of being moderate in your presents, as the best means of leaving none discontented, and giving the most general satisfaction.

"I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) "A. W. BLANE,

"Dep. Sec."

"P. S. His excellency has congratulated Jean René on the late success of his arms, in the full confidence that that enlightened chief has set an example of forbearance and

generosity in abolishing the practice, as far as his authority and influence extends, of condemning his prisoners to slavery."

The favourable impressions already made upon the mind of Radama by his limited acquaintance with the British character, were greatly augmented and confirmed by his visit to Tamatave; and the comparison he was able to make between the English he met with there, and certain traffickers in slaves, who sedulously cultivated his friendship, tended to facilitate the humane measures then in the contemplation of Sir Robert Farquhar. The return of the young princes also produced a favourable impression on the mind of Radama; for while they carried with them a high sense of personal regard for the parties who had carefully watched over their interests and studied to promote their improvement, they unreservedly communicated their views and feelings to Radama himself, and to the other members of the community with whom they associated. Soon after their arrival at Tamatave, they set off for the interior with Mr. Hastie as their tutor.

Mr. Hastie having in charge the horses which were expected to be so valuable a present to Radama, was obliged to travel by a different route, that selected for the king and his troops being impassable for beasts of burden. In the course of two days' journey, Mr. Hastie had an opportunity of observing three instances of the transient nature of the domestic establishments in this unhappy country. Ivondron, with one exception, had been lately deserted. About fifty houses had been burned, and the walls of the remaining hundred had been very unceremoniously taken down, to make rafts for the passage of the king's troops across the lake. On the second day of

their journey, the travellers passed two other deserted villages, the site of the last being distinguishable only by the ashes that remained after every habitation had been burned.

The enterprising character of Mr. Hastie was well suited to the difficulties he had to encounter, which arose chiefly from the unfavourable state of the weather and the want of roads; which induced him to declare, that if that was the good season for travelling through the country, it would be impossible that the journey should be made in any other. The wretched state of the people too, naked, filthy, and suffering from want, presented in every direction a melancholy spectacle. Yet such was the natural buoyancy of his own mind, that, when he halted for the night, he cheerfully built the huts for his lodging, and pursued his way in the morning, through discouragements that would have impeded the progress of less adventurous men.

Near the village of Ranomafana he had the curiosity to visit a hot spring, where he describes the water as being of a pleasant taste. He states that it is too warm for any animal to exist in it, and says that a bottle filled with it was four hours before it became cold. The guide who accompanied him having assured him it was necessary to offer a libation to the presiding genius of the place, Mr. Hastie very willingly filled a glass with spirits, over which the man pronounced a sort of propitiatory incantation; but Mr. Hastie observing that he offered only a few drops to the god, emptied the glass into the spring; upon which the man expressed so much disappointment, that he filled it again, and allowed him, as he had at first intended, to appropriate the greater portion to himself. After this the man expressed his confidence that the journey would be propitious, the god being fully satisfied with *partaking*

with those who offered the libation. At break of day the steam from this spring appeared to rise forty yards high.

Throughout the whole of his journey, the chiefs who had the means of hospitality within their reach, evinced a friendly and generous disposition towards Mr. Hastie, though not unfrequently exhibited in a manner somewhat foreign to the taste of an Englishman. On one occasion, having asked for eggs, the traveller was politely regaled by such as had chickens in them, and, in remonstrating with his host, was told by the chief it was the greatest perfection an egg could arrive at, and that they had been taken from under the hen with the hope of presenting them in that state; after which he commenced eating them, to prove that he was serious.

Most of the incidents of Mr. Hastie's journey were, however, of a much more perplexing and melancholy description. The path was so difficult for the horses, that he began to fear they would never reach their destination; and yet the difficulty of obtaining food for them was so great, that they were obliged to be urged on beyond their strength. The paths were also rendered more cheerless and distressing by the frequent spectacle of the dead bodies of the Hovahs, who had either perished in the late wars, or in the famine and devastation which had succeeded. These bodies were passed with the greatest indifference by their countrymen, who never stopped to bestow upon them the last charity of a grave; and on one occasion only, were seen to drag the body of a man by a rope round his neck into an adjoining wood, by way of hiding him from public view.

On approaching the capital, Mr. Hastie was saluted with the accustomed politeness of Radama; who, by his first messengers, sent to press Mr. Hastie to quicken his pro-

gress, as the king's birth-day was near at hand, and he wished him to be present at its celebration in the capital. Others then brought presents of refreshments; and, lastly, the two young princes, who had travelled with the royal party after their separation, came out to meet their tutor, who observed, that they were even then re-assuming the dress and habits of their countrymen.

In the midst of crowds similar to those which attended the arrival of Le Sage, and surrounded by the same demonstrations of welcome and delight, Mr. Hastie at length reached the capital, on the 6th of August, 1817. The court-yard of the palace was lined with soldiers; and the king, seated on a stage about sixty yards from the door, called Mr. Hastie to go to him, and, laughing loud, shook him very warmly by the hand. The native attendants of Mr. Hastie, on entering the door of the palace, held in their hands a dollar each, which was received by a person stationed there for the purpose: when the money was presented, they began to sing and dance, after which the king ordered silence, and addressed the soldiers in an oration, the purport of which was to direct their attention to all persons, but particularly the English passing through their country to visit him. On this occasion, Radama was dressed in the scarlet coat and military hat sent to him from Mauritius, and in blue pantaloons and green boots. After the public interview, he followed Mr. Hastie to the house appropriated to his use, which he had furnished with chairs, and, taking off the cumbrous part of his dress, sat down, and sent for Mr. Brady, whom he introduced to his guest as his captain, saying he was no longer a common soldier. He then drank some brandy, and was profuse in expressing his obligations to the governor of Mauritius, whom he called his father. The conversation afterwards turned on the

bad state of the roads in his country, and the sufferings of his people in consequence. He regretted it much; and the opportunity was taken of advising him to make better, and explaining, at length, the immense advantages he and his people would derive from travelling being made practicable for beasts of burden. He agreed to all that was said, and explained it to the people with whom the house was by that time filled. Amongst the company were all his captains, who clamorously agreed to his decision. An interpreter was then employed, the better to explain to the king and his people the situation of Mr. Hastie, as assistant to the government agent for Madagascar. The king said, in reply, that nothing in his power should be wanting to promote the comfort of his guest, or to fulfil the wishes of his excellency the governor. After which he went out, but speedily returned, with about twenty girls bearing cooked provisions. Of these he pressed the company to partake; appropriating, as was his custom, a very ample share to himself. Conversation, however, made very slow progress, as the king made a point of repeating to his people all that was said to him, and afterwards commented upon it at large.

CHAP. VII.

Anxiety of the king to provide suitable accommodation for the British agent—Radama's inquiries after the slaves he had given to Capt. Le Sage —The conduct of the British government in abolishing the slave-trade explained, and the desirableness of not allowing natives of Madagascar to be exported to other countries, suggested—The king's attention to public business—His satisfaction on receiving, among his presents, a clock, a compass, and some horses—The king's first efforts in horsemanship—His extreme delight in riding—Arrival of slave-factors at the capital—The traffic discouraged by Radama—Instance of the injustice and fatal effects of the tangena—Apparent fruitlessness of the visit of the young princes to Mauritius—Endeavours of the king to prevent Mr. Hastie's departure from the capital—His desire that Englishmen should reside in his country—Difficulties of Radama in effecting the abolition of the slave-trade—Mr. Hastie's journey to Tamatave—His return to the capital with letters from the governor of Mauritius to Radama—Powerful effect of a supposed disregard of truth by Mr. Hastie on the mind of the king—Renewal of negotiations for the abolition of the slave-trade—Public kabary on the subject—Opposition of the chiefs to the proposed measure—Determination of the king to accede to Mr. Hastie's proposal—Arrival of a captive king at the capital—Departure of Mr. Hastie for the Coast—Ratification of the treaty—Letter of Captain Stanfell to Governor Farquhar—Copy of the treaty between the British government and the king of Madagascar for the abolition of the slave-trade—Proclamation of the king forbidding the exportation of slaves on pain of death.

Anxious to render the residence of Mr. Hastie at the capital as comfortable as possible, Radama sent a number of his officers to assist him in preparing the house appropriated to his use, and supplied him with mats and other materials for fitting it up in the European manner, inspecting the work in person all the time, and asking, as a favour, that he might always have access to it when finished. He

was much pleased with the readily-granted permission to enter it whenever he chose. Indeed, he scarcely allowed himself time for his usual meals, so anxious was he to return to the society of his guest. The horses, also, claimed much of his attention, and he never failed to regret the loss of that which had been intended for his especial use, and which had died on the journey from the coast to the capital.

On one occasion, shortly after Mr. Hastie's arrival, the king, noticing among the attendants of his guest a Mozambique, who was one of four slaves he had given to Capt. Le Sage, Mr. Hastie availed himself of the opportunity offered, for acquainting the king that these people could not remain in the Isle of France as slaves; that the British government, actuated by principles of humanity and justice, could not permit their servants even to accept slaves as presents; and that his excellency, Governor Farquhar, always regretted seeing the natives of so fine and fruitful a country as Madagascar, reduced to a state of miserable slavery in another country, when their labour would insure an increase of riches in their own, and ultimately make him one of the greatest kings in the world.

The king said he had given Captain Le Sage ten slaves; and asked, with his accustomed shrewdness, whether this law existed then. He was told that only four had arrived at the Isle of France, and that the British government did not by any means intend to interfere with the internal regulations of Madagascar; that the advantages alluded to would be certain while the people remained in the island, if properly employed; and that his own power must increase with the population of his country; the desirableness of discontinuing the exportation of his people to other countries, was also suggested.

On this important subject, Mr. Hastie spoke freely. The king heard him patiently; and having narrated the conversation to his people, remarked, that slaves were fair traffic in Madagascar. Mr. Hastie explained, again, that the British government did not dictate any thing respecting the internal customs of his country; that Governor Farquhar considered him the most enlightened individual of his nation; that he was undoubtedly the most powerful; that the acts of a king should make his name live for ever; and that the system pointed out would certainly increase his power and wealth, and immortalize his name. He again explained to his people; and they consenting, he said he would enter into a treaty to prevent the exportation of his subjects. He appeared convinced by the arguments which had been used, and concluded the conversation with great good-humour.

During the whole of this day there were many applicants to speak to the king, who heard every one, though the number amounted to a hundred and fifty. These all presented money, some of them pieces not worth more than three-pence, to the people who were in waiting to receive it. It was rather curious, that while Radama was not too dignified to receive this tribute, he betrayed evident satisfaction at Mr. Hastie's appearing not to see it.

Amongst the presents sent to Radama by the governor of Mauritius, one of those which afforded him the most pleasure was a clock. It was at first a little deranged, and he could not conceal his chagrin on hearing it strike while the minute-hand was at the half-hour. While he was absent from the house, Mr. Hastie fortunately discovered the cause of the clock's going wrong, and rectified it; and when the king returned, his joy was unbounded. The clock was placed upon a block, at the distance of four

feet from a fire large enough to roast a bullock. The monarch sat on the ground beside it for a whole hour, and, forgetful of his regal dignity, danced when it struck.

Radama, who possessed an excellent memory, and seldom lost sight of any fact that had been communicated to him, was quite capable of appreciating the value of a pocket compass, and was much pleased with a map of the world, upon which he amused himself with tracing out the situation of Madagascar.

The great festival of his birth-day was attended with the usual ceremony of receiving presents, slaughtering cattle, bathing, sprinking water, and scattering rice upon the heads, in all which ceremonies Mr. Hastie was distinguished by the particular attention of the king.

In consequence of the great care and kindness the people bestowed upon the horses, their endeavours to keep them had nearly been frustrated by the animals being fed too liberally on rice. It required all Mr. Hastie's skill to restore them to health; and when they were again in a condition to be used, the king requested permission to mount one: as soon as he got upon the saddle, one of his people presented him with a string of trinkets, and he took the precaution to put into his mouth a little charm or talisman, to preserve him from the dangers of his novel situation. This fear, however, soon abated, and nothing could exceed the joy he evinced, after riding round the court-yard. He laughed loudly, screamed and danced, declaring that he never had received so much pleasure before, and asking frequently if Mr. Hastie thought his father, Governor Farquhar, would give him another horse to replace the one which had died. As he grew more accustomed to the exercise, his enjoyment of it every time increased; and like most learners who have attained a

slight degree of proficiency, he evinced a consciousness of his own superiority, by wishing to see others placed in the situation which had lately appeared so perilous to him. Several of his officers were accordingly ordered to make the experiment, while he laughed heartily at their awkwardness.

During the stay of Mr. Hastie at the capital, several merchants arrived from the coast, for the purpose of purchasing slaves, but all were discountenanced by Radama. There were vast numbers of slaves at the capital, at that time on sale; and it is not to be wondered at, that the traffic should have been encouraged by a people whose indolence induced them to give up all kinds of manual labour to this unfortunate class of their fellow-beings. The inhabitants of Tananarivo at that time never worked their grounds. Their land was tilled, their houses built, and their timber and clothing obtained by slaves. With regard to the abolition of this traffic, the king himself appeared, at an early period of the negotiations, to be won over by the arguments of Mr. Hastie; but though so absolute in his government, and in his influence over his people, that every look and word of his was the subject of imitation, and the slightest command for silence obeyed in an instant by tumultuous thousands, there seemed to be a point to which he could not, dared not, lead his people—and this was, the abolition of the traffic in slaves. During the time that Mr. Hastie was pressing the subject upon his attention, ten or twelve of his principal counsellors were in the habit of assembling every morning at the back of the house occupied by the British agent. These men used to sit upon the ground, deliberating for about two hours, after which two of their number used to wait upon the king, and doubtless these deliberations had

great weight in retarding the operation of his good intentions.

Mr. Hastie had many opportunities of observing the unequal distribution of public justice. On one occasion, when these very counsellors sat as judges, he saw the criminals buy themselves off by conveying pieces of money to their hands. But the most horrible of all the mockeries of justice prevalent in Madagascar, is the ordeal by poison. Mr. Hastie was a witness of the following instance, which may be added to those already given.

One of the king's sisters had been ill for several days, and on the 24th of August became slightly delirious. Her female attendants, four in number, were subjected to the following processes, in order to ascertain whether they had been accessory to her sickness. For one day they were confined in separate huts, without being allowed any food, and on the following morning they were brought out, each to have administered to them three bits of the raw skin of a black fowl; after which, they were obliged to drink warm rice-water until they began to vomit. If each vomited the three pieces of skin, and did not in straining fall with her head to the south, she was to be considered innocent. The pieces of skin were swallowed whole, and unfortunately only one of the four was able to prove her innocence.

The customary fate of those considered to be guilty, is instant death. In this instance it was delayed nearly an hour, as one of the unhappy creatures was a great favourite with the king's mother, who, while Mr. Hastie was with Radama, went to her son to beg her life. He refused to grant this favour, and desired his mother to withdraw. The supposed criminals were then taken to a rock on the south side of the capital, and, having their fingers, toes,

arms, legs, noses, and ears cut off, were precipitated from the rock, the children from the surrounding crowd amusing themselves for nearly an hour after with throwing stones upon their mangled bodies. The two young princes were seen thus employed: and such was the general indifference to the fate of the sufferers, that Mr. Hastie, who did not approach nearer than forty yards to the rock, could not see one anxious countenance in the whole crowd, who thronged to witness the scene. The women were all young, and the favourite handsome. As a part of this system of injustice, the survivor was handsomely rewarded.

As may be supposed from what has just been related of the young princes, they were now fast returning to the ordinary habits of their countrymen, although Mr. Hastie still acted as their preceptor, and did his utmost to inspire them with higher tastes and feelings. A few days after they had taken a part in this barbarous and inhuman pastime, the elder of the youths not appearing at the usual time in the morning, his tutor sent to request his attendance, and, on being told that he was still asleep, went himself to arouse his young pupil, prompted partly by curiosity to see the interior of his dwelling. He found him in a small and mean apartment, his sleeping-place within a yard of the fire-place, and presenting a picture of idleness and filth scarcely to be surpassed in the meanest dwellings of the common people. The tutor remonstrated with his pupil upon this deviation from the habits he had acquired in the Isle of France; to which the young prince could only reply, that dirt was warm, and the weather cold, and he chose the former because it was customary.

When the time for Mr. Hastie's departure arrived, so great was Radama's desire to detain him, that he first endeavoured to persuade Mr. H. it was the governor's wish

that he should remain to superintend the education of the princes; and then, when it was explained to him that this was a misapprehension, he offered to reward Mr. H. for his trouble, if he would stay and continue to act as their tutor. Delays and hinderances were also thrown in the way of Mr. Hastie, whenever he wished to prosecute any plan for the benefit of the king or his people, by the general belief in the influence of unlucky days; so that when Mr. Hastie asked for bullocks, with the intention of training them to carry burdens, the lucky day for such an attempt was never found. When he wished to visit the iron mines, the same hinderance presented itself; and when he proposed returning to Tamatave, difficulties appeared to increase. He was not willing to depart without again reverting to the conversation he had previously had with Radama on the subject of the slave-trade. The king, on this occasion, asked what he was to do; saying, it was the trade of the island, which his people loved. Besides which, he considered his prisoners as too much his enemies to trust them near him; and what was he to do with the population of any village that offended him. Mr. Hastie again pointed out the means whereby his people might not only be satisfied but enriched, his captives usefully employed, and his own greatness ensured. He acknowledged the truth of what was stated, but concluded by saying that the n tives of Madagascar liked to live without labour, and the time had not then arrived when their prejudices could be overcome, yet he hoped to set such an example as would satisfy his father, Governor Farquhar.

After this interview, Radama again endeavoured to prevail upon Mr. Hastie to remain with him, and asked if he could do anything to render him more comfortable. Mr. Hastie explained to him the necessity he was under of

seeing Governor Farquhar before his departure for England, and told him it was that alone which induced him to quit a place where he had met with every kindness. An agreement was then entered into, that Mr. Hastie should return, if it met with the governor's approbation, which afforded great satisfaction to the king; and he proceeded to say, how much he had hoped from the circumstance of his brother's going to Mauritius, that he should see more Englishmen, but now that hope rested solely upon Mr. Hastie's promise to return. He expressed a wish that Englishmen should always remain with him; for although his people were slow, example might have a good effect. Mr. Hastie assured him that the produce of his country would always induce Englishmen to visit it, and that the treaty he had entered into with Governor Farquhar was such as would ensure a constant intercourse; to which he replied, that he should receive Englishmen as the children of his father.

In a subsequent conversation, the king stated, that if the English government would supply his country with arms and ammunition, he would agree to put a total stop to the traffic in slaves. His supplies were at that time obtained from the French merchants, who would leave the country if the trade was discontinued; and many powerful chiefs would attack his territories, if he had not the means of defending himself. He therefore begged Mr. Hastie to assure the governor that his earnest desire was to conform to his wishes, but that he must have the means of repelling his enemies before success could attend his endeavours.

This conversation was repeated many times, for Radama had discovered that the man who acted as interpreter to Captain Le Sage had not acted fairly in conveying his sentiments respecting the abolition of the slave-trade, and

he was afraid he should be committed by this breach of trust, and be understood to have agreed to terms which he could not sanction without the stipulated conditions.

All, however, was at last settled between him and his guest, who had cordially agreed to Radama's request that four native boys should accompany him to Mauritius for the purpose of learning martial music; and on the 7th of September, Mr. Hastie left the capital; attended on his departure with many demonstrations of respect.

In his journey back to Tamatave he had to contend with the same difficulties as those which he had encountered before, and even with more circumstances of distress and horror, owing to the wretched state of the people, whose country had been laid waste in the late wars; yet no sooner did he learn, on arriving at Tamatave, that a letter was already there from Governor Farquhar to Radama, which he alone could properly interpret to the king, than he determined to be the bearer of it himself, and set off immediately to retrace his steps to the capital. The letter may not be unsuitably quoted at full length, as an example worthy of imitation to those on whom devolves the high responsibility of exemplifying the character and maintaining the reputation of a nation, which ought ever to be the just and enlightened benefactress of uncivilized nations.

"Government House, Port Louis,
"Mauritius, 9th August, 1817.

"To his Majesty, Radama, King of the Ovahs,

"Sir, my Brother,—Captain Stanfell, of his Majesty's ship Phæton, having brought me the despatches from my representative, Mr. Pye, giving an account of all the transactions which took place on your descent to the coast of Tamatave, and return from thence to your territories of Ovah. This account gave me great satisfaction, from learning the wisdom which directed your conduct, and

the state of discipline and subordination which your people have attained under the direction of your powerful mind. Captain Stanfell having witnessed every thing on the spot with his own eyes, was able to gratify my curiosity, and those loftier feelings of interest with which I naturally view the conduct of a great chief and his people, whom I equally regard with the affection of a father.

"It is this feeling, and an ardent desire to render your power permanent on the firmest foundation, by your progressive improvement in the arts and knowledge which distinguish the white man, that induce me most anxiously to impress upon you my desire that you should, before all other things, imitate the actions and measures of all the great white men, in preventing now and for ever the exportation of any black man from Madagascar as a slave.

"I must tell you that the great cause why white men excel the black in arts and arms, arises from the resolution on the part of the kings many hundred years ago.

"Before that time the countries of the whites were exposed to all manner of misfortunes; no family was sure of remaining in its place from one generation to another, but kings and their subjects were equally liable to be carried away into slavery.

"So long as you live, and conduct your affairs with wisdom, you have nothing to fear for yourself or your people; but you must look forward to posterity, and to leaving your family on the throne of Madagascar for ages to come, so that no event may reduce your family or your descendants into the power of another, who might transport them from their country.

"The first step is to abolish for ever, and by the strongest penalties, the transportation of any black man from Madagascar. Imitate in this the conduct of all the wise kings of the whites.

"You see I advise you for your own good, without any view to the interests of the white people, who desire to bring black people into the country to make them work for them.

"I know that one great source of riches to the princes of Madagascar is the sale of the black men taken in war, and that by means of these prisoners you procure arms to defend yourselves, and the different kinds of merchandise from Europe and India that are required in your country.

"My affection for you, however, induces me to offer you these means of self-preservation, without any other remuneration than that attachment of which you have given me so many proofs, and the certainty that you have complied with my wish in putting a final stop to the sale of black men to whites, or to any others, for the purpose of being transported from your island. I recommend to your constant protection Mr. Hastie, whom I have sent to reside with you, and I hope soon to hear from you that you have complied with my desire.

"I have sent a vessel to carry this letter to you, and to bring to my presence Mr. Pye, whose bad state of health requires his temporary return to this island.

"I send in the place of Mr. Pye at Tamatave Mr. Browne, a young gentleman, whom you saw with Captain Stanfell at Tamatave, and who is much attached to your person. He will forward to me all your majesty's communications, and he will also forward mine to you.

"I was delighted to hear that you were satisfied with my good children, Ratafique and Rahovy, and I desire that you will tell them that they will ever be dear to me, and that I hope they will ever be kind to Mr. Hastie.

"I send you the copy of the treaty between you and Jean René, clothed with my approbation, and I guarantee its execution. I have received the three deputies with great pleasure, and send them back again to you with presents, of which I enclose you a list. Amongst these is a horse for your own riding.

"The three free women whom you have sent up here to be instructed in household work, and the management of domestic business, I have directed to receive the education you desire, and to be returned to you by the Phæton.

"I shall send agreeably to your desire, at the end of this month, two vessels to bring to me the oxen which you desire to present to me.

"I hope to prevail upon Captain Stanfell, who is much attached to your majesty, to touch at the coast of Madagascar, in order to communicate again with your majesty, and to enter into a treaty with your majesty for the total and final suppression of the slave-trade from that island. You have the power to do it; and I feel

convinced that you will not hesitate to adopt a line of conduct, which is equally prescribed by your interest well understood, the happiness of Madagascar, and the friendship of the British nation.

"I have never ceased to use every means in my power to protect our faithful friend, the king of Johanna, from the predatory attacks to which he is annually exposed from some of the Madagascar tribes. Though I have succeeded in a great measure with the petty chieftains, I could not expect to obtain the entire renunciation of this piracy without the aid of the great king of Madagascar; and I now therefore do most earnestly entreat you, in concert with Jean René, agreeably to our treaties, to prevent the piratical excursions annually fitted out from Madagascar against the king of Johanna, and the other islands of the Mozambique channel, and that you will make this article an essential part of the treaty between you and my agents at Madagascar.

[A list is here given of the people who were in the habit of furnishing boats for the expedition. The writer then adds]—

"Tell them to stay at home, to cultivate their fields, and tend their numerous flocks and herds, and to live in peace with their neighbours.

"It is my own intention, in four or five moons more, to proceed to my own king, who lives at the distance of one hundred days' journey. He will have great pleasure in learning all the glorious things I shall tell him of Radama's wisdom, and power, and attachment; but that pleasure will be infinitely increased, if I can at the same time tell him that Radama, the great conqueror of Madagascar, has followed the example of the wise kings of the whites—has resolved to abolish for ever, through that vast and beautiful island, the sale of black men for transportation.

"I shall have great pleasure, should your majesty desire it, to take with me to England, and to present to my sovereign, any person high in rank whom your majesty may wish to send, and who can return to your majesty, carrying the words of friendship to my great king. He will be able to explain to your majesty that this happy, and powerful, and flourishing island of Mauritius, is as but one drop of rain compared with the great ocean, when con-

sidered as a part of the wealth, and power, and glory of my sovereign, whose friendship I will obtain for you.

"Accept, my dear Sir and Brother, the assurances of my lasting friendship and affection.

(Signed) "R. T. FARQUHAR."

Although the despotic government of Radama rendered his authority absolute, as far as related to the customs and habits of his people, extending even to things as trifling as their food and clothing, there were difficulties in the way of the abolition of the slave-trade, which increased rapidly upon him when he lost the benefit of the advice and support of a mind more enlightened than his own; so that when Mr. Hastie returned to the capital, though received with the kindest welcome, he found the king again wavering in his determination, and much inclined to imagine the execution of the measures proposed to him impossible. With his habitual shrewdness and forethought, he laid hold of every circumstance that would be likely to operate against him; and even endeavoured to weaken the force of Mr. Hastie's arguments, by reminding him that he had once told him a lie.

The occasion out of which this idea of falsehood arose exhibits so striking a feature in Radama's character, that it is worthy of being recorded as a proof, that, though what many would term a barbarous prince, he was eager to watch, and quick to detect, even the slightest deviation from the truth.

During Mr. Hastie's first visit to the king, he was one day endeavouring to prove the integrity of Governor Farquhar's intentions with regard to Madagascar, by asserting that no British subject could be the possessor of slaves in Mauritius. Where then, said Radama, are the ten slaves I gave to Captain Le Sage? Four of them, replied Mr.

Hastie, are returned to this country, as you have already seen, and the remaining number never reached Mauritius. In this assertion the speaker had no doubt but he was borne out by facts; but on Radama's questioning the slaves themselves, it was proved that their companions were held in slavery in Mauritius, having been sold by Hector, an unprincipled man, who accompanied Captain Le Sage as interpreter. Radama, who had no milder word than "lie" even for an unintentional mistatement, could not be prevailed upon, for a whole week after this time, either to allow that the falsehood was unintentional, or to admit Mr. Hastie again into his favour. At the expiration of this week he was so far reconciled to his friend, as to state upon paper that *he was not angry with him;* but even then he remembered the circumstance against him, and made use of it, as before stated, to invalidate the statements of Mr. Hastie.

It was this natural quickness in the detection of error, operating under the watchfulness of a jealous temper, and combined with partial and limited conceptions of a half-enlightened mind, that rendered it so extremely desirable to strengthen what was good in the mind of the king, by the strictest integrity in all intercourse with him; and which invested the after-negociations of Mr. Hastie with a degree of difficulty which no individual possessed of less tact and less perseverance than himself could have overcome.

Almost immediately after Mr. Hastie's second arrival at the capital, the king sent to him to say that he could do without selling slaves himself, but that his people, who supported him, would never be satisfied if deprived of this means of increasing their wealth. He wished to know of Mr. Hastie, if the governor would allow of their proceeding personally to the Isle of France, for the purpose of selling

off their stock during the ensuing five years. It was again pointed out, both to him and his ministers, that other and better means of wealth would be offered to them. But the king, absolute in all other things, seemed powerless here. He described himself as being in the greatest distress, from having committed his character so far as to propose terms which he now found it impossible to abide by.

Mr. Hastie, ever ready to apply his influence to the most vulnerable part of Radama's feelings, represented to him in strong colours, how the slightest appearance of receding from his own proposition, would allow an idea to get abroad that he was governed by his people, instead of governing them. To which he replied, that the hope of profit had as powerful an effect upon his people, as the love of glory had upon him, and that if they were prevented selling their captives, he could never induce them either to make war, or to defend their country. Receiving the full value of the slaves, he said, would be no compensation, as they were not worth feeding in Madagascar; and if the masters did not dispose of them, they would soon dispose of their masters. He promised, however, that he would not swerve from what he had written. He would enter into an engagement not to sell any himself, if the English would supply him with the means of defence; but he wished the governor clearly to understand, that if the stipulated supplies did not duly arrive, *he must sell slaves.* Mr. Hastie, of course, assured him, that if he fulfilled his part of the contract, there could never be any defalcation on the part of the English; and well would it have been, had his confidence afterwards been supported by measures, on the part of the acting governor of Mauritius, as humane and liberal as those which marked the administration of Sir Robert Farquhar.

In the choice of his prime minister, Radama appears to have acted with great judgment. Mr. Hastie describes him as a sensible, bold, and intrepid young man, generally esteemed by the people. In cultivating his friendship, Mr. Hastie won him over so completely to the views of the governor, that his influence proved very serviceable in establishing the determination of the king.

On the 9th of October, a kabary of about five thousand people was called at the instigation of this minister, for the purpose of ascertaining the general opinion of the people, and setting before them more correct views on the subject of slavery. The result, however, was anything but satisfactory; and Radama repaired immediately to the house of his friend, complaining, with every appearance of wrath and indignation, that his people had had the audacity to ask if he was the slave of the English? protesting, that they would rather fight with sticks and stones, than that he should be in any way subservient to them. On Mr. Hastie's endeavouring to impress upon him the importance of firm and decided measures, he vociferated still more loudly, that he was English, and would be English, and would *make* his people obey him.

Mr. Hastie perceived the affair was now at such a crisis, that the decision of the counsellors could be of little avail. Indeed, his expression in his diary is this:—"Radama will be a king before to-morrow!" And so it was. On the following morning the business was finally settled. His counsellors had agreed to his wish, and it only remained now for his demand to be written out, the ministers deputed with it to be fully instructed in their embassy, and, what was very important to them, the lucky day for their setting out methodically ascertained.

In making his demand, Radama was exceedingly solicit-

ous not to exceed the bounds of actual necessity; and often remarked how agreeable it would have been to him not to have been compelled to make any. He also expressed his deep regret that he could not be himself the transactor of his own business. Upon which Mr. Hastie urged him to go as far as Tamatave. He replied, that if he decided upon going, his people would not permit him to move without twenty thousand followers; and if he should be guilty of such folly while the low country remained in the state it was in at that time, one-third of that number would not live to return. Mr. Hastie was about to reply, but the king desired him not, saying, he should have a very poor opinion of him if he pressed him on the subject.

Before leaving the capital, Mr. Hastie had an opportunity of witnessing the reception of a captive king, whose dominions, about two hundred and thirty miles to the south-west of Tananarivo, Radama had conquered about fourteen months before, though on that occasion thirteen thousand men in arms were against him. Lanvoone, the king, had found safety in flight; but hearing that Radama intended visiting him again, he came to submit himself in the following public manner:—

At about five o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at the capital, preceded by thirty women, who each held in her hand a sort of red flag. His personal guard was about five hundred men with arms, and about one thousand five hundred with assagais. He was followed by one hundred women singing, and one thousand people carrying burdens. He was a fine stout man, about thirty-five years old, and his people altogether presented a much better appearance than the Hovas. The house of Radama's mother was appointed for the use of the king, who appeared to be

treated with great respect and consideration. On the following morning a procession, which is described as well worth seeing, proceeded to the dwelling of the captive king. It consisted of two hundred girls, bearing cooked provisions. The girls, who were uniformly neat in their attire, and bore each one finely platted basket, were preceded by six of the captains and twenty-four aged men.

Although every thing appeared now to be ready for the departure of Mr. Hastie, yet such was the pertinacity of the king and his ministers, that every objection, already stated, with many new ones emanating from the latter party, had to be discussed again before the four who were deputed as ambassadors could be induced to set out on their journey. Amongst other things, they wished to know from the king, whether, in case of the slave-trade being abolished, they who were the nobles of the land should be expected to work like menials; and the king, on his part, appeared to discover every moment new reasons why the measure could not be brought into operation, which, in addition to his wish to detain the British agent at his capital, rendered it extremely difficult for Mr. Hastie successfully to carry through the business he had undertaken. On the 13th of October, however, he succeeded in completing the preparations for his journey, and set off for Tamatave, in company with the four ministers deputed by the king.

The following letter from Captain Stanfell to governor Farquhar, will give an account of what transpired at that place in reference to this embassy:—

"His Majesty's Ship Phæton, Tamatave, Island of Madagascar, Oct. 26th, 1817.

"Sir,—After receiving your excellency's instructions on the 1st instant, I arrived at Tamatave on the 5th, and soon learned

that Mr. Hastie, the assistant agent, had visited the coast; but hearing there were despatches on the road, with other communications of consequence, and seeing the duplicates at Tamatave, he gave himself barely twelve hours' rest, when he retraced his steps to the court of Radama; and, by the best calculation that could be made, in ten days at farthest he would return with the ministers appointed by Radama, and every document to give facility to our negociation.

"Mr. Hastie arrived before the time expected, after outtravelling the ministers, his companions on the road, thereby shewing a zeal for his majesty's service, which I am satisfied your excellency will fully appreciate, as you are well aware of the journey and the difficulty of travelling in Madagascar.

"On the day following, the ministers arrived; and, giving them a fair time to rest, at a meeting of the government agent, after exchanging our full powers, the subject of the negociation was fully entered upon; and, I trust, your excellency will be much satisfied, that in acting up most rigidly to the spirit of our instructions, the treaty has been concluded upon a more economical plan than your excellency thought.

"When the treaty was completed, a kabary, of the European inhabitants, under the protection of the British government, with Jean René, Fisatra, Similarga, chiefs of Ivondron and Foule Point, together with the ministers of Radama, the treaty was read, the proclamation issued, signed by the chief minister in the name of Radama, and to the respective parties present most fully explained. His majesty's ship Phæton fired a salute at the moment; and I have much felicity in congratulating your excellency on this most important point gained.

"I cannot close this statement without calling your excellency's attention to the merits of my colleagues on this difficult and intricate arrangement. With respect to Mr. Pye, my unqualified approbation of his zeal and unwearied exertions on a former occasion, your excellency is fully in possession of; and if any thing could have been wanting to increase that approbation, it is on the late important event, where there was much difficulty of explanation, a patient attention to every intricate part, and a mildness of character that perhaps tended to greater benefits with a suspicious

people unused to European manners, and alive to every jealous feeling of their own individual interest, than the more glaring show of loud declamation, and useless difficulties. I beg leave to state to your excellency, that I conceive Mr. Pye, from his local knowledge and the best information, combined with the revolving interests of Madagascar for the last three months, is most qualified to fill the situation of general-agent for Madagascar, resident at the island of Mauritius; and under the most perfect conviction I only meet the humane and benevolent intentions of your excellency, I presume to recommend him as such, for much yet remains to be done to fulfil the treaty.

"I have no less the particular satisfaction in calling to your excellency's notice Mr. Hastie, the assistant agent, resident at the court of Ovah, who, united to a strong constitution, combines a zeal for the benefit of his majesty's government, not unequalled by his desire to carry into effect your excellency's instructions, with which he was charged when accompanying the young princes to be returned to Radama after your excellency's kindness to them. Mr. Hastie travelled a distance of five hundred miles up and down, unparalleled in exertion in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of Tamatave; and by his steadiness of character while at the court of Radama, and a quick conception of the Madagascar tongue, gained while under the immediate notice of your excellency, in his instruction of the princes. I do not hesitate to say, that for the gratifying point to which your excellency's negociations have been brought, infinite merit attaches to Mr. Hastie; and having on my own part gained much local information, I beg to recommend that gentleman as a permanent resident agent about the person of Radama at Ovah; and I am so fully borne out by such a recommendation, in the perusal of Mr. Hastie's diary, which I am satisfied you will find interesting, that in the difficult explanations between the commissioners appointed by your excellency and those of Radama, frequent reference was made to that diary to explain conversations between Radama and Mr. Hastie, at which those ministers were present, and on no one occasion did a doubt remain but these persons were in full possession of the sentiments of Radama, though they had the cunning to offer objections and doubts until these proofs were brought against them.

"I have the honour to enclose your excellency the treaty and proclamation in English, French, and Arabic, together with the instructions given by Radama to his ministers, fully signed by both parties.

"I have the honour to be,
"Your excellency's obedient and humble servant,
"FRANCIS STANFELL."

Extract of a despatch, addressed to the right honourable Earl Bathurst, by his excellency Governor Farquhar, Esq., dated Port Louis, Mauritius, 18th Nov. 1817:—

"Having finally succeeded in accomplishing the important object of abolishing throughout Madagascar the slave-market which has heretofore been open to all nations, I deem it my duty to put your lordship in possession of the treaty with Radama by which that object was effected, and also to enclose every document that can throw any light upon the progress of our negociations which have led to so desirable a result.

"The present despatch will in this manner, when combined with my former correspondence with your lordship on this subject, comprehend the whole history of the intercourse between this government and Madagascar, up to the completion of the great object of that intercourse, viz. the abolition of the slave traffic at its source, by the internal municipal regulations of that vast and populous island.

"In consequence of the favourable dispositions clearly evinced on this occasion by the government of Madagascar, I lost no time in availing myself of them; and as Captain Le Sage's health has suffered so severely, I found it necessary to appoint Mr. Hastie, in aid of the assistant Mr. Pye, for conducting the negociation immediately to a successful issue. Mr. Hastie was the person I had selected to conduct the education of the young princes from Ovah; a task he had executed to my satisfaction, and in which he had succeeded, also, in conciliating the esteem and regard of his pupils.

"Agreeably to instructions, Mr. Hastie, together with the brothers of Radama, proceeded on board his majesty's ship

Phæton, Captain Stanfell, to Tamatave, to join Mr. Pye, who had resided there as agent since the departure of Captain Le Sage; there they met Radama, who had descended to the coast, from his capital in the interior of the island, to receive his brothers.

"The treaty was concluded at Tamatave, on the 23d of Oct. last.

"This treaty I immediately ratified, and returned, and communicated to Radama that it should continue to be binding until the pleasure of his majesty's ministers should be known.

"The expense which this government incurs by this treaty, may be estimated at about £2000 sterling, per annum, payable quarterly, upon the certificates of the British agent; so that no expense can be incurred, without a certainty being at the same time acquired, that the object itself is attained; and I trust that your lordship will consider this expense as comparatively trifling, when weighed with the magnitude of the object of the treaty.

"It was impossible to obtain such a treaty, without giving to Radama that equivalence in power which the treaty went to deprive him of; he could not long have retained his preponderance in Madagascar, had he been deprived of the great source of his supply of money, arms, and ammunition, which arose exclusively from that trade.

"The funds which I have effected for the discharge of this subsidy, arise from sources independent of the colonial revenue, viz., the profits on the supply of gunpowder to merchant-ships trading in these seas; so that, in fact, the colony incurs no charge for the fulfilment of this treaty on our part.

"I beg leave to express my humble hope, that your lordship will be pleased to approve of these peaceful and unambitious measures; the success of which, by finally closing the market for the slave-traffic, and thus abolishing a great source of crime in these seas, must have the effect of promoting the industry of the natives, and quicken their pace in the career of general improvement; at the same time that it provides for the safety of intercourse, and facility of trade, with a country on which this island depends for its subsistence, and which has arrived at that point of civilization that affords a growing and extensive market for bartering its valuable produce, the richest articles of tropical growth, for the manufactures of England and British India.

"TREATY.

"Robert Townsend Farquhar, Esq., governor and commander-in-chief, captain-general, vice-admiral of the island of Mauritius and its dependencies;—

"By his commissioners, Captain Stanfell, of the Royal Navy, commanding his majesty's ship Phæton, and T. R. Pye, Esq., assistant agent for his excellency's government at Madagascar, who were vested with full powers; and Radama, king of Madagascar and its dependencies, by his commissioners, Ratzalika, Rampoole, Ramanon, and Racihato, representing the said Radama, and with full powers from his majesty;

"Have agreed to the following articles and conditions:—

"Art. 1.—It is agreed by the parties to these presents respectively, that the mutual confidence, friendship, and brotherhood, which are hereby acknowledged to subsist between the contracting parties, shall be maintained and perpetuated for ever.

"Art. 2.—It is agreed, and the two contracting parties hereby covenant and agree, that, from the date of this treaty, there shall be an entire cessation and extinction, through all the dominions of king Radama, and wherever his influence can extend, of the sale or transfer of slaves, or other persons whatever, to be removed from off the soil of Madagascar, into any country, island, or dominion of any other prince, potentate, or power, whatever; and that Radama, king of Madagascar, will make a proclamation and a law, prohibiting all his subjects, or persons depending on him, in his dominions, to sell any slave to be transported from Madagascar, or to aid, or abet, or assist in any such sale, under penalty that any person so offending shall be reduced to slavery himself.

"Art. 3.—And in consideration of this concession on the part of Radama, the king of Madagascar, and his nation, and in full satisfaction for the same, and for the loss of revenue thereby incurred by Radama, king of Madagascar, the commissioners on the part of his excellency the governor of Mauritius, do engage to pay Radama, yearly, the following articles:—

"One thousand dollars in gold.

"One thousand dollars in silver.

"One hundred barrels of powder, of 100lb. each.

"One hundred English muskets, complete, with accoutrements.

"Ten thousand flints.

"Four hundred red jackets.—Four hundred shirts.

"Four hundred pair of trowsers.—Four hundred pair of shoes.

"Four hundred soldiers' caps.—Four hundred stocks.

"Twelve serjeants' swords (regulation), with belts.

"Four hundred pieces of white cloth,
"Two hundred pieces of blue cloth, } India.

"A full-dress coat, hat, and boots, all complete, for king Radama.

"Two horses:—Upon a certificate being received, that the said laws and regulations, and proclamations, have been enforced the preceding quarter; which certificate shall be signed by Radama, and countersigned by the agent of his excellency governor Farquhar, resident at the court of Radama.

"Art. 4.—And, further, it is agreed by the contracting parties, mutually to protect the faithful friend and ally of England, the king of Johanna, from the predatory attacks to which he has been for many years annually exposed from some of the smaller states of the sea-coast of Madagascar; and to use every means in their power, by their *subjects, allies*, and dependants, to put a final end to this system of *piracy;* and these proclamations shall be particularly distributed in the ports, and on the sea-coast of Madagascar.

"Additional Article.—The contracting parties agree in considering this treaty as provisional, until ratified and confirmed by his majesty's ministers, on the part of the king of Great Britain; which ratification will be forwarded, without loss of time, to the king of Madagascar (Radama), by his ambassador to that court. This formality, however, is not to prevent the stipulations of this treaty from being carried into full and complete effect from the date hereof.

"Done at Tamatave, island of Madagascar, October 23, 1817.

"FRANCIS STANFELL, captain H. M. ship Phœton, senior naval officer, and commissioner.

"THOMAS R. PYE, agent to the British government, and commissioner.

"RATZALIKA, for Radama.

"RAMPOOLE, and RAMANON.

"RACIHATO.

"RAMALAZA, as witness.

"PROCLAMATION.

"Inhabitants of Madagascar.

"You are none of you ignorant of the friendship we enjoy with the governor of Mauritius, and the devoted attachment we have avowed to him. His attention, unlike that of all other foreign nations that has visited our shores, has deen directed to increase our happiness and prosperity. He has never deprived us of our rights or our properties; he has not suffered the white men to carry off our children into slavery; he has sent us people to teach us arts and industry unknown before, to defend us against our enemies, and to prevent famine by more extensive cultivation. We are happier and safer since the establishment of British dominion in our neighbourhood, and we are grateful to our good father, who has produced for us these blessings.

"His nation and king have made laws to prevent you from being carried out of your island into slavery; and he has punished such of the whites as have presumed to violate this law.

"He has called on us to assist him in this work for our own benefit; and he has promised his powerful assistance, to punish such as may be refractory or disobedient.

"We willingly agree to this proposal of our father; and we hereby declare, that if any of our subjects, or persons depending on our power, shall henceforward be guilty of selling any slave, or other person, for the purpose of being transported from the island of Madagascar, the person guilty shall be punished by being reduced to slavery himself, and his property shall be forfeited to me.

"Let my subjects, then, who have slaves, employ them in planting rice and other provisions, and in taking care of their flocks; in collecting bees'-wax and gums; and in manufacturing cloths and other articles, which they can sell. I set them the first example myself, by abandoning the tax payable to me upon the sale of slaves for exportation.

"I direct my brother, Jean René, and other chiefs upon the sea-coast, to seize, for their own use and profit, all such slaves as may be attempted to be exported in their respective provinces; they will also give every support and assistance to the government agent of Mauritius, in the execution of his duties.

"I command all my subjects and dependants, and invite my allies, to abstain from any maritime predatory excursion whatever; and more particularly, neither to practise nor allow of any attack or attempt upon the friends of our ally, the British nation.

"It has been usual to make an annual attack upon the sultan of Johanna and the Comora islands. Our good friend, the governor of Mauritius, dissolved the meditated attack of last year; and we now join with him in forbidding any further enmity to the king or inhabitants of the Comora Archipelago, on other islands on the coast of Africa, or North Archipelago, under pain of our most severe displeasure, and of incurring the punishment due to pirates of whatever nation or people they may be.

"Such is my will; let it be known to every inhabitant of this island: it is for their own happiness and their own safety to pay obedience to this proclamation.

(Signed) "RATZALIKA, for Radama.
(Signed) "RAMPOOLE.
(Signed) "RAMANON.
(Signed) "RACIHATO.
(Signed) "RAMALAZA, as witness."

Mr. Hastie hastened to Mauritius, where he arrived on the 9th of November, immediately before the embarkation of his excellency on leave of absence for England. The governor expressed his approbation of the measures which had been pursued, and assured the Malagasy ministers of the deep interest he felt in the prosperity and advancement of their country. Mr. Hastie having been appointed to see that the conditions of the treaty were duly observed by Radama, re-embarked the same day, and returned to Tamatave, where he found the slave-dealers already selling off their possessions, and preparing to leave Madagascar.

On reaching Tananarivo, Radama expressed himself to Mr. Hastie in terms of the highest esteem for the governor, and as being perfectly satisfied with the arrangements

made in the treaty; after ratifying which, he distributed several copies of his proclamation in French and English, through the different provinces of the island.

About this time the small-pox was raging extensively and fatally at Tananarivo, and Mr. Hastie most opportunely introduced vaccine inoculation, which happily was attended with very general success. So soon as this calamity, and the new remedy employed, had ceased to engross the public attention, some plans were taken into consideration for the employment of the people, recently withdrawn from their former vicious and destructive pursuits. Amongst other improvements, the formation of a new road was commenced, and implements of European art and labour imitated with an exactness reflecting great credit on the talent and ingenuity of the natives.

CHAP. VIII.

Determined conduct of Radama in relation to the treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade—Journey of Mr. Hastie to the coast—Violation of the treaty by General Hall, acting English governor at Mauritius—Revival of the slave-trade—Views of the London Missionary Society in relation to Madagascar—Instructions to Dr. Vanderkemp to promote the commencement of a mission to the Malagasy—Death of Dr. Vanderkemp—Information collected by Mr. Milne—Establishment of a mission in Mauritius preparatory to entering Madagascar—Commencement of a mission in Madagascar by Messrs. Bevan and Jones—Conduct of Jean René and the foreign traders—Kindness of Fisatra—Alarming illness of the mission family—Death of Mrs. Jones and infant daughter—Illness of Mr. Jones and of Mr. and Mrs. Bevan—Afflictive death of Mr. and Mrs. Bevan and child—Grounds for supposing poison had been used by those who were opposed to the mission—Recovery of Mr. Jones—Attempts to instruct the people—His voyage to Mauritius—Arrival of Governor Farquhar—Military expeditions of Radama—Appointment of Mr. Hastie to renew negociations for abolishing the slave-trade—Return of Mr. Jones to Madagascar—Arrival of Messrs. Hastie and Jones at Tamatave—Journey to the capital—Dreadful effects of the slave-trade—Joyous welcome of the travellers by Radama.

No act of Radama's life will ever be regarded with so much satisfaction and pleasure, as his abolition of the slave-trade: and when the difficulties attending it are considered, it exhibits in the king a firmness of purpose, a decision of character, and a confidence in the integrity of the British government, rarely surpassed. He appears to have determined to adhere with the most scrupulous fidelity to the spirit and conditions of his engagements; and it is impossible to contemplate his situation and proceedings at this period without feeling the liveliest interest in his progress and success, particularly when it is remembered that he had

to contend with the prejudices, the inveterate habits, and the interests of his own family, as well as those of the great body of the chiefs, and of the entire community, excepting the hapless slave. One instance occurred in 1818, when a brother-in-law of Radama's was heard to condemn the measures the king had adopted in entering into a treaty with Great Britain—"a country," he said, "always actuated by interested motives." The affair came to the knowledge of Radama, who caused a strict investigation to be made into the circumstances. The accused party, instead of exonerating or vindicating himself, implicated his father and brother; and all three being found guilty, were condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Mr. Hastie humanely endeavoured to interfere, so as to obtain a pardon for them, lest the execution of a capital sentence against them might generate disgust in the minds of the people, and increase prejudice against the British name, or bring public odium on the treaty which they had ventured to censure. His efforts, however, were unavailing. The guilty party were convicted of having added *falsehood* to their offence of disapproving of what the king had already decreed; and Radama remarked, that the stability of his throne depended upon a strict *adherence to truth*, and upon *impartiality* in the administration of his laws. All three accordingly suffered the sentence of death.

The first payment of the equivalent agreed upon in the treaty with Radama becoming due in May, 1818, Mr. Hastie, agreeably to his instructions, left the capital for the coast, proposing to return from Mauritius with the various articles stipulated in the agreement. While waiting a short time at Tamatave, a vessel arrived with several slave-dealers on board, and bearing the tidings, to them most agreeable, that the then acting governor of Mauritius,

Governor Hall, had relinquished further intercourse with the chieftains of Madagascar, that he refused to pay the equivalent stipulated by Governor Farquhar, and intended to recall the agent stationed at the capital. A letter from the governor at Mauritius was at the same time presented with much formality to Mr. Hastie by a *deputation of the slave-dealers*, recalling him from Madagascar. The deputation, having delivered the letter, put the taunting question, Who, did he think, possessed the purer sense of honour—*the enlightened English, or the savage Radama?*

Unwilling to withdraw his confidence in the veracity and honourable feeling of the British, Radama gave no credit to reports of the violation of the treaty, until he obtained evidence of a more satisfactory nature than that conveyed to him by slave-dealers. Mr. Hastie found, however, on reaching Mauritius, that the representations were but too true, and his worst fears were more than realized. His nation was dishonoured, and incalculable evils, for which he had no present remedy, was inflicted on the Malagasy.

His excellency, Governor Farquhar, having contemplated, not merely the civilization of Madagascar, but the introduction of Christianity, had encouraged the directors of the London Missionary Society in their desire of commencing a mission there; and two Missionaries, Messrs. Jones and Bevan, had been sent from England in February, 1818. In July of the same year, about a month after Mr. Hastie's return to Mauritius, they reached Port Louis, with letters of introduction to Governor Farquhar from Lord Bathurst, his majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, and from the directors of the Missionary Society. It has already been stated that Sir R. Farquhar had sailed for England, and that General Hall, who was the acting governor at the time

of their arrival, had discontinued all friendly intercourse with Radama. He was also unfavourable to the commencement of their mission, and they were consequently obliged to remain in Mauritius.

In order to continue a correct and circumstantial account of the public transactions by which the intercourse between Great Britain and Madagascar was rendered more frequent, it is necessary, in this part of the history, to allude to the early views of the Missionary Society, and to recur to a period many years antecedent to the date of the first Missionaries' arrival, for the kind and Christian interest with which some pious individuals regarded the state of that benighted country.

For many years before they were able to obtain any actual establishments in Madagascar, the members of the London Missionary Society had directed their attention to that island, as a most important sphere for missionary labours. At one of the earliest meetings of the friends of that Society, held in 1796, when the resolution was adopted of commencing a mission in the South Sea Islands, amongst several memorials containing views of stations deemed particularly eligible for missionary efforts, one was presented in favour of Madagascar. From that period, no means were left untried to obtain the most correct and extensive information as to the state of the country, the parts best suited for the first stations of the Society, and the most probable methods of prosecuting their great object with success.

With these views, the directors, in the instructions which they gave to Dr. Vanderkemp at the time of his sailing from England, in 1798, to commence a mission in South Africa, embraced the opportunity of urging upon that indefatigable and extraordinary man, their earnest desire that he

should employ every practicable means to facilitate the commencement of a mission in Madagascar; and suggested to him the propriety of visiting that island, in order to obtain such particular information as might guide the directors in the measures they might adopt for the establishment of a mission among the Malagasy.

Dr. Vanderkemp arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 31st of March, 1799; and that he lost no time in seeking the information required, as well as cherished in his own mind a desire to commence the mission there, is evident from his letter to the Missionary Society, dated May 18, 1799, from which the following is an extract:—

"I have obtained here sufficient information about Madagascar, to conclude that a mission to this island would be a desirable object. They all confirm the accounts given by Colonel Burns. Should this mission be approved by the directors, I think it best to send at least three or four Missionaries, as soon as possible, to the Cape, with orders for Capt. Robson* to convey them from the Cape to St. Austin, in Madagascar."

Dr. Vanderkemp then proceeds to inform the directors, that such Missionaries need not study the Dutch language, as the inhabitants were in some measure acquainted with English; that a knowledge of the Malagasy language might be obtained at the Cape; and that a Mr. Truter, member of the judicial court, who had lived in Madagascar, would give ample information to any Missionaries arriving at the Cape in their way to Madagascar. After reaching the Bay of St. Augustine, he adds, "there is an easy way of coasting, in large canoes, along the whole western side of the island, from north to south."

* At that time commanding the Duff, belonging to the London Missionary Society.

Circumstances, however, prevented any measures being adopted; and Dr. Vanderkemp wrote again to the directors, in 1804, expressing his desire to see the gospel conveyed to the island; and had not important engagements detained him in Africa, he would himself have commenced the mission. In 1810 the directors remark, that by letters just arrived, they find, "that Dr. Vanderkemp has decided on going to Madagascar, although his advancing years, and the state of his health, with that of his family, rendered it a very arduous undertaking."

The best mode of entering upon this new sphere of missionary labour, still appeared involved in some degree of uncertainty. An application was made to Lord Caledon, then governor of the colony at the Cape, to facilitate the voyage of Missionaries in a vessel direct from Algoa Bay. His excellency, in reply, expressed his readiness to afford all the assistance in his power in the prosecution of the object, but doubted if any government vessel could touch at Algoa Bay. So late as 1811, Dr. Vanderkemp still resolved on attempting the object, by way of Mauritius. He was, however, detained some time longer at the Cape; illness succeeded; and in the month of December, of the same year, he terminated the career of his earthly services.

Soon after the intelligence of this melancholy event reached England, the directors of the Missionary Society deemed it expedient to request one of their own body, the Rev. John Campbell, to visit Africa, and inspect their stations in that country. They instructed him, also, to send a mission to Madagascar, if practicable, during his residence in Africa; and, in the mean time, the Rev. W. Milne, on his way to China, was requested to obtain, at the Isle of France, all possible information respecting Madagascar.

This request was faithfully attended to, and the result communicated to the directors in London, and to Mr. Campbell, then in Africa.

Early in the year 1814, the Rev. J. Le Brun sailed as a Missionary to Mauritius, furnished with letters of recommendation to his excellency, Governor Farquhar. The directors remark, in connexion with this appointment, "An important object of this mission is, to prepare the way to the great island of Madagascar, and it may be hoped to Bourbon also." For obvious reasons, the latter has not been attempted, Bourbon having been restored to the French by the treaty of Paris in 1814.

In January, 1815, the directors acknowledge receiving a letter from his excellency Governor Farquhar, expressing his satisfaction with what he had seen of Mr. Le Brun, and warmly recommending the Society to commence their long-intended mission to Madagascar; promising to render every assistance in his power to that great and good work.

In the Society's report for 1817, the directors, expressing themselves much encouraged by the representations and promises of Governor Farquhar, state their hope of being able, in the course of that year, to commence the mission. Accordingly, in August, 1817, the Rev. Messrs. S. Bevan and D. Jones were ordained at Menaddlwyd, Cardiganshire. They had been formerly students under the Rev. M. Phillips, of Newodalwyd, and subsequently finished their missionary studies at Gosport, under the Rev. Dr. Bogue. They sailed for Mauritius in February, 1818, and arrived there in July.

At that time, as has already been stated, his excellency Governor Farquhar had returned to England on leave of absence, and was succeeded, *pro tempore*, by General Hall. Messrs. Jones and Bevan were courteously received by

General Hall; he discouraged their design of proceeding to Madagascar, on the ground of the treaty with Radama for the abolition of the slave-trade being broken, the extent to which the slave-trade was then maintained, the recalling of the British agent from the island, and the acknowledged insalubrity of the climate.

The information Messrs. Jones and Bevan also obtained from other persons acquainted with Madagascar, was highly discouraging; and Mr. Hastie, the late British agent, strongly recommended them not to make the attempt under existing circumstances.

It was, however, at length determined, with the concurrence of the governor, who furnished the Missionaries with two servants to act as interpreters, that they should go over to Madagascar in a private capacity, with the view of making their own observations upon the actual circumstances of the people on the coast, ascertaining the state of the interior of the country, and judge for themselves of the probability of establishing a mission in any part of the island with safety and success. Having also been furnished in a very kind manner by two medical gentlemen, Drs. Burke and Sibbald, of Port Louis, with instructions as to the treatment of the Malagasy fever, and with appropriate medicines, they sailed from Port Louis on the 8th of August, and touched at the Isle of Bourbon on their way. On arriving at this place, his excellency the governor-general Lafitte, having heard of them as Missionaries on their way to Madagascar, sent a polite message to them by Mons. Roux (afterwards governor of St. Mary's), inviting them to the government-house. General Lafitte received them with great urbanity, and after putting various questions to them respecting their mission, and the Society by whom they were authorised in their proceedings, gave

them a most disheartening and repelling view of Madagascar, and produced a variety of documents illustrating and confirming his statements.

The unfavourable descriptions of the country, conveyed to them from so many quarters, could not be without some effect upon their minds, in producing certain fears and anxieties, not unaccompanied by occasional hesitation. Convinced, however, that they might visit the coast with at least as much safety as the traders, and captains of vessels, they resolved on pursuing their route, and on the 18th of August landed at Tamatave. Here, the captain of the vessel in which they sailed introduced them to Jean René, chieftain of Tamatave, and to Mr. Bragg, an English trader residing in the vicinity of the town. Jean René entertained the same views respecting the proposed mission in Madagascar, as had already been expressed by the governor of Bourbon, but thought it not altogether improbable that something might be effected among the Hovahs, and recommended them to write to Radama, and solicit his permission to commence their labours among his people in Ankova. He added, however, that since the violation of the treaty, Radama's mind was so exasperated against the English, that they might be in some danger in his province.

Mr. Bragg, whose conduct towards the Missionaries was marked either with great treachery, or with a fickleness which is difficult to account for, having invited Messrs. Jones and Bevan to his spacious residence, in a retired situation, about a mile to the west of Tamatave, they accepted his invitation, although, from the information they had received of his character in the Mauritius, they would gladly have found suitable accommodations elsewhere.

Having heard in the course of a few days additional

accounts of the violent and arbitrary conduct of Radama, they resolved not to write to him, but to commence their labours at Tamatave, or at some neighbouring village, Mr. Bragg having assured them that the children of some of the chieftains, and of their principal people, could be obtained for instruction, and that the reports of Jean René, and of the traders, as to the deficiency of talent on the part of the natives, were not founded in fact.

In company with Mr. Bragg, they paid a visit to Fisatra, chieftain of Hivondrona. He appeared pleased with their object, promised to send his son Berora to be a scholar, and recommended the school being opened at Mananarezo. The example of promising to send his son, which he afterwards fulfilled, was followed by several head people of the village, who appeared equally pleased with the plan, and who also engaged that their children should become scholars. The people, when the object was explained to them, shouted Tsara be, tsara be! "very good, very good;" and the females asked, "When will your wives come and teach us?"

"During our stay at Hivondrona," observe Messrs. Jones and Bevan, in writing to the directors, "we received great kindness and respect. We supped with the chieftain Fisatra and one of his ministers. The floor was our table, on which was spread a beautiful rush mat instead of a table-cloth; and an excellent repast was laid thereon, with plates, knives, and forks. A fine rush mat, which is always kept clean, and upon which they sleep, covers the whole room, and over this the other mat is laid when they take their meals. They have two stated times for eating each day. The first at eleven, they call their morning meal; and the other at the decline of the day, is called their evening meal. We slept on the floor after the manner of the Malagasy, and on the following morning returned to Tamatave greatly

encouraged by the reception we had met with at Hivondrona."

Mr. Bragg having promised to build the Missionaries a house, they proceeded to Mananarezo, where he immediately commenced collecting materials. By the 8th of September it was finished, and the school opened with six children. More were afterwards added, and applications from the parents of others declined for the present, the attempt being intended merely as an experiment. The parents of the scholars expressed themselves much gratified by what they saw and heard, and were especially delighted with the singing. The Missionaries were equally pleased with the capacity, the docility, and the proficiency of their pupils. If the reports they had heard reiterated, as to the deficiency of native talent, ever produced suspicion in their minds, they had now seen enough to banish every apprehension on the subject, and to excite their pity for those whose prejudices were so groundless and injurious.

The object of their preliminary visit to the island being thus accomplished, Messrs. Jones and Bevan set sail for the Mauritius, taking with them specimens of the writing of their scholars, and leaving their youthful charge under the *promised* superintendence of Mr. Bragg, who, however, dismissed them immediately after the Missionaries had embarked.

They reached Port Louis the 9th of October, 1818, having employed the time during the voyage in the study of the Malagasy language, in committing sentences to memory, and in making the best possible use of the specimens of the language they had been able to collect on the coast, and in forming some rules for the use of the characters by which the sounds of the language might be most distinctly expressed.

At Port Louis they found their families exposed to no little reproach and ill-treatment on account of the object in which they had embarked. General Hall, the governor, however, received the Missionaries with kindness, and expressed himself gratified with the report they made of the success attending their brief labours in Madagascar, and with the specimens they presented of the writing of native scholars.

Mr. Jones proposed to return immediately to Tamatave, but was delayed by the illness of Mrs. Jones and their infant daughter. He felt painfully the unfriendly disposition existing at Mauritius towards the Mission, and thinking that his own indisposition was caused by the climate of that island, he embarked for Tamatave, as soon as the health of his family would admit. Mr. Bevan was obliged to remain at Port Louis on account of the illness of his wife.

On landing at Tamatave the 19th of October, Mr. and Mrs. Jones were saluted with the customary Finaritra, finaritra! "welcome, welcome!" and it was peculiarly encouraging to them to ascertain, that the children formerly taught had, during the absence of the Missionaries, been teaching others, and that all were impatient for the re-opening of the school.

Mr. Jones immediately commenced the erection of a school-house on a spot of ground allowed for that purpose by Jean René. The season was, however, unfavourable, and disease soon commenced its ravages in the Mission family. The rains were now heavy, and the proper precautions having been neglected, a damp house accelerated the attack of the Malagasy fever, and Mr. and Mrs. Jones soon experienced its fearful violence.

A French frigate was at this time in the harbour, commanded by Baron Macao, and having on board Monsieur

Roux, of Bourbon. The baron, hearing of the illness of the Mission family, went, accompanied by Monsieur Roux, to visit them, taking along with him the medical officer of the vessel. And on his return to the ship, he kindly sent them a supply of medicines, wine, and biscuit.

Baron Macao, on sailing back almost immediately to France, took with him Berora, one of Mr. Jones's pupils, and son of Fisatra, to receive his education in Paris. Monsieur Roux, sometime afterwards, again visited Tamatave, with some French emigrants and troops; but being unable to form an arrangement with Jean René, to reside there in the capacity of governor, he sailed for St. Mary's, where ultimately he, and most of those who accompanied him, died of the fever.

On the 13th of December, Mr. and Mrs. Jones lost their infant daughter. The trial was severely felt, as they themselves had, during the illness of the child, been too unwell to render it the least attention. Until the 22d they continued suffering in the same manner, when attacks of violent sickness led to the suspicion of an attempt having been made to poison them—a suspicion confirmed by the circumstance of some tangena, a well-known poison, being, on a careful investigation instituted by Mr. Bragg's express directions, found in their kitchen. On the 26th they were both sufficiently recovered to be able to walk across the room; but on the 28th the symptoms with which Mrs. Jones had previously been affected, assumed a more alarming character than ever. The loss of both sight and hearing was attended with great swelling of the limbs, and on the following day she was numbered with the dead.

No sooner did the tidings of this melancholy circumstance reach the chieftain Jean René, than he offered wood for making a coffin, and sent his carpenters to prepare it.

Mr. Bragg read the funeral service over the grave; and several of the natives attended on the occasion, but none of the traders.

Mr. Bevan having been detained at the Mauritius by the illness of his wife, was not able to sail from Port Louis before the 27th of December. He then embarked in a vessel bound, in the first instance, for Foule Point, where he proposed recommencing his labours, as a Missionary in Madagascar. The chiefs at that place had expressed a desire to have their children educated, and the station appeared eligible.

On the 6th of January, 1819, Mr. Bevan wrote to Mr. Jones, and stated his intention of proceeding to Tamatave. In the course of a few days he arrived in the harbour; and, at the very moment of landing, was told, in a manner the most heartless and indifferent, that Mrs. Jones and her child were both dead, and Mr. Jones himself near the close of his life. Such a communication, it may easily be supposed, deeply affected Mr. Bevan, and it was with some difficulty he could proceed to the residence of his friend. Having reached Mananarezo, he stood opposite the house in which Mr. Jones was at that time ill, and wept as he silently gazed on the house of mourning. Mr. Bragg met him, conducted him in, and conversed with him some time. From that hour Mr. Bevan expressed his firm conviction, that he also should be seized with the fever, and certainly die.

It is deeply to be regretted that such an apprehension should ever exist, still more so that it should be indulged, as the physical consequences it produces are always injurious, and often destructive of all hope of recovery; this dread of the fever having been known to induce it, or to accelerate its attacks, and render them fatal.

Under an impression that he should fall a victim to the fever if he remained at Tamatave, Mr. Bevan now wished to return to Mauritius without disembarking his family. After some consideration, however, he determined upon remaining, and commencing the labours of the mission at Atakalampona, or Andevorantra; but on the 9th, both he and Mrs. Bevan became considerably indisposed, and on the 24th their infant daughter was seized with illness, and died on the following day. To the end of the month Mr. Bevan continued extremely ill, and was frequently delirious. His conversation generally related to the mission. On one occasion he remarked to Mr. Jones, "I shall certainly die; but you will recover, and proceed with your work, and ultimately succeed in the mission." His presentiments with regard to himself were solemnly prophetic. On the morning of the 31st he finished his earthly course. At this time Mrs. Bevan appeared to be recovering her strength, and was sustained under the pressure of these complicated afflictions by an eminent portion of Christian submission and fortitude; but early on the morning of February 3d, she became alarmingly ill, and before eight o'clock she also was removed from the scene of her earthly trials. In her case, as in that of Mr. Jones and his family, there were strong reasons for suspecting that poison had been employed, but at whose instigation could never be ascertained.

In addition to these melancholy circumstances, which pressed heavily upon the surviving member of the mission, the conduct of Mr. Bragg became completely changed towards him. Insult, reproach, and ridicule succeeded to the kind attentions lately paid. The property of the Mission family was wantonly stolen; and parties resorted to the house, who cruelly scoffed at the calamities which had lately occurred. While heaping abuses upon the defence-

less invalid, they eagerly devoured his provisions, and conducted themselves towards him with the most wanton and fiendish cruelty; so that, with a frame already exhausted by disease and anxiety, it can easily be supposed that a painful depression of spirits would follow from such treatment. But the all-seeing God did not forsake his servant, and with his returning strength his hope revived; and his courage seemed to derive fresh energy from the inhuman conduct of the enemies of his mission. About the middle of March, Mr. Jones was able to go to Tamatave, where he solicited, from various individuals, a shelter from the hostility of Mr. Bragg. This he at last found in a native's house; at least, he had room allowed him to lie down, and water to quench his thirst. Mr. Bragg having discovered his retreat, sent to bring him back by force, and then renewed his system of ill-treatment and robbery, while Mr. Jones was suffering from a fresh attack of ague, which, with other complaints incidental to the climate, greatly enfeebled his constitution. Desirous of trying the effect of change of air, he employed some of the native boats in making occasional excursions on the neighbouring lakes; and here Mr. Bragg, having either exhausted his malevolence, or hoping he might yet witness the death of the invalid, accompanied him, and pretended to be his friend.

The chiefs were everywhere hospitable, and willing to allow their children to be instructed; and by the close of April, Mr. Jones felt himself able to prepare for re-opening the school: but his attention was again directed to the capital, by hearing from Mr. Brady, who arrived in Tamatave about this time, that Radama was well disposed towards the reception of English Missionaries and the instruction of his people. Mr. Brady, who was now promoted to the rank of general in Radama's army, would have taken Mr. Jones

with him to Tananarivo, had he been able to accompany him, and had he received a letter of invitation from the king of the Hovas.

It subsequently appeared that Radama had heard of the arrival of Messrs. Jones and Bevan, by some of his people who had gone to Tamatave to carry up provisions for the opening of the new palace called Trano-vola. He had immediately sent to invite them to his capital; but his messengers were told, on reaching Tamatave, that both the Missionaries were dead; a falsehood fabricated at the time, to prevent their visiting the interior of Madagascar, lest they might in any way become the means of arresting the lucrative but infamous traffic in slaves, so long the source of wealth to the Tamatave traders.

Frequent relapses of the Malagasy fever, accompanied by so general a decline of health as to render a recovery in Madagascar improbable, made it extremely desirable that Mr. Jones should return to Mauritius; and after receiving many attentions from the chieftain Fisatra, and amidst the hearty benedictions of numerous Malagasy who accompanied him to the shore, he embarked, on the 3d of July, for Port Louis. Here he derived considerable benefit from the medical advice of Dr. Sibbald; and was invited by C. Telfair, Esq., to his estate at Belombre, that he might enjoy pure air, receive valuable medical attention, and avail himself of whatever MSS. in the Malagasy language that gentleman possessed. Mr. Jones accepted the invitation, and some time afterwards commenced a school, consisting of about seventy children of slaves on the estate. This school was conducted under the immediate sanction of Mr. Telfair, who appeared anxious to promote the welfare of his slaves, seeking to improve their condition by the education of their children, and the increase of their general comforts.

Although medical advice was against the return of Mr. Jones to Madagascar, yet deeming it his duty to endeavour to prosecute the mission there, he resolved upon making one more attempt; and, in the ensuing May, made his preparations accordingly. It was under an impression of the strong claims of that country upon his attention, that Mr. Jones respectfully declined an invitation, from the church at Port Louis, to become co-pastor with the Rev. J. Le Brun, missionary there. At the same time it was impossible not to entertain some apprehension, that a constitution, enfeebled by repeated attacks of the Malagasy fever, might prove unable to sustain any longer the climate of that island.

It has already been stated, that, during the period of the violation of the treaty with Radama, Mons. Roux arrived at Bourbon, accompanied by a few emigrants from France, with an intention of forming a colony at the island of St. Mary. On learning the decision of the governor of Mauritius with regard to the non-continuance of the treaty, he extended his plans, and induced several other persons to connect themselves with his mission. He visited Tamatave, and published a proclamation, declaring that the French would revive their former trade, and expressing great friendship for Radama, for whom he was charged with valuable presents, as well as for other powerful chieftains on the island.

Connected with these events, it may deserve notice, that General Hall thought it right to send back to Madagascar the six youths who had been, by permission of Governor Farquhar, placed under instruction at Mauritius in 1817. Radama, sometimes afterwards, referring to this circumstance, asked, "Why would not your government at Mauritius permit those boys to be instructed, whom I had sent

for that purpose? Although your government violated the treaty, and discontinued intercourse with me, I would gladly have paid for the education of the boys!" An expression as characteristic of Radama as it was honourable to the chieftain of a partially civilized people.

Influenced by the circumstances already mentioned, which were considerably aggravated by the intrigues of parties ever anxious for the renewal of the horrible traffic in slaves, Radama permitted the slave-trade to recommence; and that it was again carried on extensively, is obvious from General Hall's letter to the right honourable Lord Bathurst in 1818, wherein he states that "three cargoes had been imported during the preceding fortnight, notwithstanding all his efforts to forbid such illegal importation of slaves into the colony." The conduct of General Hall brought lasting disgrace on the British name, and added another to the melancholy catalogue of events illustrative of the calamitous results of even temporary power in the hands of weak or wicked men. It is but due to the British government to state, that the conduct of the acting governor was severely condemned.

The slave traffic continued to be carried on until the return of Sir Robert Farquhar in July, 1820. After due attention had been given to the immediate and pressing duties of the colony itself, his excellency matured and carried into execution his plan for renewing the treaty already made with the king of the Hovas.

At this time Radama was engaged in one of those military expeditions to which he subsequently devoted his chief attention, and which were the means of a great accession of territory. Hitherto Radama had marched into the field with few advantages, beyond his own personal valour, over the chieftains around him; but he was now beginning to

understand the superiority of a disciplined army, though still far from enjoying the full benefit of that superiority in his own.

It has already been stated, that in the year 1816, a few European troops had been sent up to Tamatave with the view of exhibiting to Radama a specimen of European discipline, and that he had adopted the system as the means of establishing his supremacy over all the other chieftains of the island.

In the month of February, 1820, a large kabary was held during two days at Antsahatsiroa, at which about twenty thousand persons attended. The object was to consult on the expediency of commencing a war on Menabé, to whose chieftain Imamo had been long tributary, even during the reign of the bold, enterprising, and successful Impoimimerina, father of Radama. It was resolved at this kabary to undertake the war, that those of the people sent to it, who had had the fever, should set out immediately, as less likely to suffer a relapse than by remaining later; and that the rest should remain until after the annual festival, when the danger of fever would be diminished.

By the end of the month, a considerable force was sent off under the command of Mons. Robin; and shortly afterwards some of the Sakalavas arrived at the capital, to tender their submission to the king. So far the aspect of affairs was encouraging to the ambitious monarch, but the warriors in the end returned with fewer honours than he had expected them to reap. News arrived at Tananarivo that the soldiers had run away; and the unwelcome intelligence was but too soon confirmed, by the actual arrival of the fugitives and their leader, who, having found himself deserted, prudently thought it best to escape with the rest.—Although these unfavourable circumstances were calcu-

lated to repress the aspiring hopes of the king, neither he nor his officers appear to have abandoned the idea of further conquest. Mr. Brady continued his unwearied exertions with the troops, in order to fit them for a more successful campaign: and in the mean time the attention of the king was called to more pacific measures.

Mr. Jones, the only surviving member of the mission to Madagascar, was now residing at Mauritius for the recovery of his health; and having, while there, an interview with the governor on the subject of the affairs of Madagascar, he learned with infinite satisfaction that it was the intention of Sir R. Farquhar to renew the treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade, and for that purpose to send, as early as possible, an agent, whom Mr. Jones might accompany.

Entertaining a fear that the climate of the island might prove so prejudicial to the health of any European, as to preclude the probability of a permanent residence, and with that all hope of a successful establishment of the proposed Protestant mission; a memorial, which met with the cordial approbation of his excellency the governor, was drawn up and presented. The plan proposed in this document was, that a Missionary should accompany the British agent to the capital of Madagascar,—that he should there explain fully his objects to his majesty Radama,—that he should endeavour to acquire all requisite information respecting the probability of being able to introduce missionary operations into that part of the kingdom,—that he should return at the close of the good season to Mauritius, there to pursue the study of the language, and prepare elementary publications, and should then revisit the island in the ensuing good season, should circumstances permit, or render eligible, such a measure.

In connexion with this memorial, it was also suggested that an Auxiliary Missionary Society might be formed at Mauritius, on behalf of the mission to Madagascar, and a seminary established where native youths might receive a European education, which should qualify them, on their return home, to render important service in the instruction of their countrymen.

Arrangements were now made for returning to Madagascar, and Mr. Hastie was selected by the governor as agent of the British government to Radama. Sir R. Farquhar minutely explained the objects in view, and, in addressing Mr. Hastie, remarked, "Your object, Sir, is strictly political, and you will not, therefore, interfere with the religious operations of the Missionary: and then, addressing himself to Mr. Jones, he said, "And your object, Sir, is strictly religious, nor will you interfere with the civil transactions of the British agent; and yet, gentlemen, you should support and help one another to the utmost."

It was then arranged that both Mr. Hastie and Mr. Jones should return to Mauritius from Imerina at the close of the healthy season, and present respectively an account of their views and proceedings. Thus instructed, they sailed for Tamatave in September, 1820.

That port had then again risen to considerable importance. Eighteen months before, it was reduced to a few huts, in consequence of the proclamation of Radama prohibiting the traffic in slaves; but now, since the renewal of the trade, upwards of one hundred good houses had been erected. Such prosperity was, however, short lived. Its foundation was iniquitous, and the fabric was destined to fall.

At Tamatave was an ombiasa, who was employed to write to Radama, informing him of the arrival on the coast

of the British agent, and the Missionary Mr. Jones. The letter was forwarded to Tananarivo by some of the king's body-guard, the Tsirondahy, who had been friendly with Mr. Hastie during the king's former visit; but the reply to this letter was not received until the party had reached Ambohitroina. Thus far they had proceeded under many apprehensions that they might meet a message from the king, refusing to receive them, and desiring them to return. That such would "*certainly*" be the case, had been often asserted by the traders on the coast, who not only endeavoured to dissuade them from attempting the journey to the capital, but to intercept them in their progress, after the journey was actually commenced. At Amboitroina, however, Mr. Hastie received a letter from Radama, written in French Creole, and warmly encouraging him to come forward to Tananarivo. "Come along," said Radama, "I shall receive you. Do not be afraid. I am glad that you are coming, my friend Mr. Hastie, to see me again. Come along, fear not. I am not so ready to cut off heads as people say I am."

Mr. Hastie was greatly encouraged by this honest expression of the king's good feelings towards him, and almost lost in his present hopes all recollection of the difficulties which had been encountered; and he could not avoid regarding the letter as auguring favourably for the success of his important mission. No mention being made of Mr. Jones in the reply sent by Radama, although he had been informed that he travelled in company with Mr. Hastie, Mr. Jones thought it might be well for him to remain at the village until Mr. Hastie should have seen the king, and obtained either an express sanction for his going to the capital, or express orders for him to return to the coast. "No," said Mr. Hastie, "come forward at once. If my

head is safe, yours is. I know the king." And in this the British agent acted on the spirit of his instructions, in which the governor of Mauritius had urged, that though Mr. Hastie should not succeed in the attempt to renew the treaty, yet that he should endeavour to introduce the Missionary, and form a permanent settlement for him in the dominions of Radama.

Both travellers had seen enough from the time of their reaching Tamatave, to render them anxious for the suppression of the slave-traffic in the island. On the very morning they left Tamatave for Hivondrona, they saw a vessel sail out of the harbour laden with slaves. The captain had artfully contrived to elude the suspicions of the British agent during the previous evening, while the living cargo was being conveyed to his vessel, by spending the time with him in a friendly and familiar conversation on the inviting and detaining topic—the arts and devices by which the slave-traders succeeded in obtaining their prey!

During their journey to the capital, they had also painful demonstrations of the prevalence of the slave-trade. At two places they met large companies of slaves who were being driven to the coast, all of them wearing iron rings fastened to their wrists, and having to carry packages on their heads, consisting of poultry, rice, &c. On one occasion, while passing Ampassimpotsy, an open plain amidst the immense forest of Alamazaotra, they met about one thousand of their fellow-beings in this degraded situation.

On advancing towards the capital, Mr. Hastie received another letter, with the warm assurances of welcome from the king. On the 3d of October, when within a day's journey of Tananarivo, the travellers were passed on the road by a man at full speed, bearing a silver-mounted

ebony stick, about two feet in length, which was recognized by Mr. Hastie as belonging to the king. On arriving at a village within view, the stick was given to another man, who seemed to have been waiting for it, and who immediately ran forward as the other had done. It proved afterwards that this was the plan adopted by Radama for having the intelligence of the travellers' approach announced to him.

About noon they arrived at the foot of the hill upon which the capital is situated, and were ordered to await the farther pleasure of the king. Here they were met by Ramenetra and Ramarosikina, two of the king's ministers, mounted and habited as field-officers, and bearing the intelligence that his majesty would receive Mr. Hastie at four o'clock; that he was highly pleased at his arrival, and could not permit him to ascend the hill without shewing his satisfaction by receiving him publicly, for which purpose his people were summoned. About twenty minutes before that time, Mr. Robin, a Frenchman, acting as secretary to Radama, dressed as an aid-du-camp, waited upon Mr. Hastie with a private note from the king, whose watch he bore, in order to fix the precise moment of setting out. This gentleman proved himself an unskilful dissembler; and while loudly and vehemently expressing his joy, betrayed to the keen eyes of Mr. Hastie that he was struggling with chagrin at the duty devolving upon him. But Mr. Hastie's own words will best describe the general appearance of things at the capital, and the behaviour of the king, who had so much reason to complain of the want of good faith on the part of the British.

"At four o'clock," Mr. Hastie writes in his journal, "Mr. Jones and I ascended the hill, several cannons having been fired since our arrival at noon. About half-way up the ascent, we entered between two lines of troops, well

dressed and accoutred, and drawn out in honour of our reception. Though I have had frequent occasion to witness the orderly appearance of these people under arms, and the evidence they afford of the indefatigable labour and skilful discipline of Mr. Brady, I must confess I was astonished at their present appearance. The lines extended all the way to the palace (a building which in this country really merits the name); the court-yard being crowded with drums, shell-blowers, and singing-women. As I reached the head of the lines, the king appeared, coming from the old court-yard, and he received me with joy. I introduced to his notice my companion Mr. Jones, to whom he gave his hand with pleasure, accepting the hasina, or tribute, from each of us according to custom; after which he led us to the palace, and we ascended to the state-room by a massive ladder. I could not conceal my surprise on entering this elegant apartment, which was furnished and decorated in a very superior style. The king was quite overcome with joy, and took such extraordinary means of shewing it as I never before witnessed. He hugged me in his arms, pulling me close to him, and burst into such peals of laughter, that he was unable to retain his seat. He frequently called out my name in a most friendly tone, and then took hold of me, as if to ascertain that I was really present with him. After a little time the troops were dismissed, and an excellent repast served up, to which Prince Rataffe, Field-marshal Rafaralahy, Majors Rameno, Ramanetaka, Ramananolona, Captain Ramarosikina, Mr. Brady the English drill, Mr. Robin the secretary, Mr. Jones, and myself, sat down. The king, seated at the head of the table, ate but little, and was very attentive to his guests, repeatedly asking after his excellency Governor Farquhar and his family, and our sovereign

king George. About eight the party separated; and in returning to the house which had been prepared for our reception, I found it in excellent order, and decidedly the largest in the capital. Soon after my entering it, an audience was requested of me by Mr. Robin, who commenced stating that he had taken the oath of allegiance to the British government, which he much respected, and that he was not engaged in any thing contrary to the principles of a British subject—that he was merely employed as a secretary, and was perfectly neutral; and he begged that I would not entertain any unfavourable impression towards him, so as to judge of his conduct by any previous opinion of his character. I replied, it was impossible for him to be neutral; that his stating himself to be so, was a decided proof he was not very candid; and as I was not sent there to discuss any thing with him, I begged him to withdraw."

On the following day the king received Governor Farquhar's letter, and read the letters from him to the two princes; but made no comment upon the purport of either, evidently intending to give the matter his cool and deliberate consideration. With the present of plate from the governor he was much delighted, but most of all with one of the horses, which he mounted immediately; remarking, at the same time, that it was not a gift, but a part of the stipulated equivalent. He then invited Mr. Hastie and Mr. Jones to ride with him, and led them over three miles of excellent road, fit for any carriage; an improvement in the neighbourhood of the capital truly astonishing to Mr. Hastie, who had so often had cause to regret the want of such accommodation before. In the evening the travellers sat down in company with eight persons to an excellent dinner, served on the plate sent as a present to the king, and some manufactured in the island. A servant attended

each chair, and there was as much formality observed as was consistent with the convenience of guests but recently accustomed to such habits.

After tea, the king proposed to Mr. Hastie a game at cards; and it was during the intervals of the game, that the king asked Mr. Hastie, why the English government at Mauritius would not permit the boys to be instructed whom he sent for that purpose to the Isle of France in 1817: he then remarked, that he would gladly have paid the expense that might have been incurred to accomplish this object. Mr. Hastie told him, that the boys were placed with a proper person to instruct them, by Governor Farquhar, previous to his departure for England, and that it was the unauthorised act of an individual that caused them to be sent back. He said, English laws were bad, if they permitted any individual to act contrary to the will of the sovereign; and though he had not yet framed the code of laws Mr. Hastie had so often adverted to, and extolled as peculiar to England, it was impossible that any subject of his could be guilty of such an act as displeased him, without meeting severe punishment. Mr. Hastie endeavoured to explain, that until the sanction of the king was obtained to the act of his representative, the crime of a breach of a predecessor's act did not commonly subject the person who committed it to condign punishment; but the relations established by his excellency Governor Farquhar with him, being now authorized by the British sovereign, ratified and approved, could no longer be subject to any interruption. But Radama did not appear to be convinced, and frequently reverted to the breach of the treaty.

CHAP. IX.

Strong and injurious impression produced on the minds of the king and people of Madagascar, by Governor Hall's violation of the treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade—Objections of Radama to renew negociations with Mr. Hastie on the subject—Mr. Hastie's confession of his shame on account of the conduct of the acting governor of Mauritius—Remorse of the king on account of his relatives, whom he had sentenced to death for infringing the treaty with the English, which he had faithfully kept—Conference with one of the king's counsellors—Unwillingness of the chiefs to allow the king to renew the treaty—Acknowledgment of the advantages of civilization and instruction to the people—Public meeting for discussing the proposal of the British agent—Objections repeated by the chiefs and people—Explanations given by Mr. Hastie—Offers to take some of the youth to Mauritius for education; and to send artificers and mechanics to Madagascar, to promote the civilization of the people—Agreement of the king to the treaty—Proclamation abolishing the slave-trade issued—Joy of the people—Generous conduct of Radama—Embassy to England appointed—Departure of Mr. Hastie for Mauritius—Arrival of presents for Radama from the king of England—Joy of the king on receiving tidings of the ratification of the treaty at Mauritius—The return of Mr. Hastie—Military expedition against the Sakalavas—Dreadful effects of disease and famine among the royal troops—Return of the army to the capital.

THE next time Mr. Hastie was admitted to a confidential interview with the king, he found him with his table covered with papers, amongst which the treaty, and others bearing the British seal, were uppermost; and on this occasion none but the interpreter was present.

On Mr. Hastie asking the king if he clearly understood the purport of his excellency's letter, he replied, that he was aware, from its contents, that the British agent was charged with the governor's orders, under the sanction of the king of England; that Mr. Chardonneaux, under

Governor Farquhar's orders, had, some years ago, visited him, expressing the wish of the English government to be on terms of amity with him; and from the favourable representations made by that gentleman, he was induced to send two sons of his mother to the Isle of France; that he was subsequently informed it was the wish of the English government to suppress the slave-traffic; that his father had obtained an unlimited ascendency over his people, and had effected many things for the good of his country; and that he himself, finding the English a nation that could confer benefits on his subjects, and give them instructions, was, at the desire of Governor Farquhar, induced to enter into a treaty for the suppression of that traffic. "I signed that treaty," he added, "contrary to the advice and counsel of my nobles and counsellors, even those who had instructed me from childhood; I then waited, with confidence, in the expectation of the arrival of the equivalent proposed, and engaged to be paid to me by that treaty; I fulfilled my part with the most scrupulous exactness, and with heartfelt regret was obliged finally to abandon it." Radama further added, that he had not done so until authenticated accounts, declaring that the English government would not fulfil its contract, obliged him to permit his people to renew the traffic in slaves; that he could not act otherwise, as he could not offer any thing in excuse to those who with him were interested in carrying the treaty into effect; that at the period of his proclamation prohibiting the exportation of slaves under pain of death, he had promised a distribution of the articles mentioned in the treaty amongst his people; that he had been made the instrument of deceiving them; "and what am I to do now?" said he. "I am not independent. The support of a king, is his subjects; and you have told me that unlimited

power over them is not invested even in your civilized king, whose representative has occasioned me to risk my ascendency in Ankova. What am I to say to my subjects? They obtain every thing they want by the sale of slaves; and how can I ask them to renew a treaty with a nation that has deceived them? They will naturally say, that I, individually, am to reap the benefit; and that stopping the trade will cause them, in a short time, to lose all the advantages they now derive from it."

The king concluded by saying, that however easy it might be to convince him of the true causes that created the late difficulty, it would be next to impossible to induce his subjects to believe it; and they were most deeply concerned, as, of the vast number of slaves that I met proceeding to Tamatave, only very few belonged to him; and fathers were now so accustomed to consider their children as disposable property, and to sell them, that he was quite at a loss for means to enable him to support the amity he wished to retain with the English.

Mr. Hastie replied, that he felt ashamed and humbled on behalf of his country; but, as he had before explained, the act of an individual should not prejudice the king against a nation; that if sincerity was not intended by the British government, it would not seek a renewal of the treaty with him, as it could not expect to gain any advantage but what affected the good of his country; that he was of old acquainted with the sentiments of his excellency, Governor Farquhar, on this subject; and that the treaty being now approved and sanctioned by the king of England, no individual under him dare to set aside any of its conditions.

The king said, that an act of the solemn nature, which he considered that approved by the governor, and agreed to by himself, to be, having been once broken, left no

ground for confidence; that, should he agree to a renewal of the treaty, and any of his subjects at a future period transgress his orders, they would have a fair plea for doing so, as they would, of course, offer in palliation, that they were not the first to err, and that those who had done so once were not to be depended upon. "And," said he, "if the English were really desirous of abolishing the slave-traffic, and if you, Hastie, had done your duty in reporting the numbers sent annually from Ankova, the British nation must be aware that I am a serious loser by entering into the treaty; yet the friendship I feel induces me to shew that government that I am desirous of obtaining its esteem."

Mr. Hastie then entered at length into a detail of the evils arising from depopulating his country, and the advantages that would accrue from the labours of the multitude that were sold. He stated the good that must spring from a connexion with the English government, and expressed a hope that the numbers consigned to slavery were annually diminishing.

Radama replied, that the period for which he suppressed the traffic was wasted in expectation, and that it was succeeded by an unlimited sale. He desired Mr. Hastie to notice the advancement of his subjects, their clothing, conduct, and manners; and said that all this was created by the intercourse kept up with them by the slave-traders, who were now become such favourites, and so necessary to his people, that he feared little short of a general insurrection would be occasioned by his again trying to trust the English, that it had become a kind of proverb amongst his subjects,—"False as the English."

Mr. Hastie again explained to him that the relationship could no longer be subject to failure on the part of the

British, as all the governor of Mauritius had done, had been sanctioned by the sovereign. To which the king replied, that he was ardently desirous to receive the friendship of the English, and would discuss the subject again on the following day.

In the mean time, however, he recurred to the subject more than once; and the second time observed, that the trial he had made of English faith had occasioned the death of more persons than Mr. Hastie was aware of, as the punishment of his kinsman Andriamanalino and his family, whom he had ordered to be executed for infringing the treaty, did not deter others from carrying on the trade; and that in every instance with which he was acquainted, during sixty-four days after the time had expired that had been agreed upon for Mr. Hastie's return, the culprits had invariably been punished in the same manner as those were before Mr. Hastie left the place.

On the following day Mr. Hastie went by invitation to spend the forenoon with an old man who had been the king's first instructor, and who still maintained great influence in his councils, and a high place in his esteem. Mr. Hastie entered upon the purport of his visit, and for some time he was listened to with attention; but at last the old man remarked, that the purport of all his visitor had said was but a repetition of what had induced him in the first instance, in 1817, to advise the king to give to the matter proposed, the trial which had been attended with the worst and most lasting consequences, as the result of that attempt precluded the possibility of his renewing it. He then added, "The blood of those who suffered, has so deeply stained the English character, that it will not easily be washed away. I believe you speak with sincerity, but all that can be advanced by you will not be able to effect

your object. The king stopped the traffic; he put to death those who even spoke against his measures; he risked his life, his security in the government, and was ultimately obliged publicly to acknowledge that he had done wrong, when you did not return with the promised equivalent. Murder is here avenged by the death of the perpetrator, and the sale of all his family. Falsehood or treason meets the same treatment; and I must candidly tell you, that if the king transgressed to such an extent as the English government has, I, who have nursed him, could no longer view him with pleasure. What then must be the feelings of a people who have suffered as the Hovas have by his attempted alliance with the English. The measure you propose would remove from our country all those who contribute to our comfort. Where do we get all we have, but from those to whom we sell slaves? We do not manufacture powder or arms; we are not possessed of mines; we have only very bad mechanics, little cloth, and are by constitution an indolent people. By the sale of slaves, all our wants are supplied through the persons to whom we sell them. What do we derive from the English? Nothing! They keep no intercourse with us. They promised, and have not performed!"

Mr. Hastie explained to him also, what must have been very difficult for half-civilized people under such circumstances to understand, that the sanction of the king of England, now obtained, must in future preclude any failure on the part of the English government; and entered at length into the merits of the plan proposed, assuring him, that if the English were not sincere, they would not attempt to renew an alliance, from which no pecuniary advantage could be derived, and that the disinterested measures of the British government should convince him of its sincerity.

The old man heard Mr. Hastie very patiently, admitted that all he said was very good, and to the advantage of Madagascar; but the breach of a treaty entered into with much precaution and deliberation, could not be excused. "However," said he, "the king must decide for us. He, some time ago, on renewing the sale of slaves, promised that he would not again suppress the traffic, and we then agreed to increase his revenue from one dollar to two and a half for each sold. This enables him to make the improvements you must have noticed; and we have just returned from a war with the Sakalavas, wherein we suffered much fatigue, and have given a general permission for selling."

The man stated, that about a thousand were then on sale at Tamatave, and a vast number were sent down that had been contracted for. He said that many traders had now adopted a plan of sending up native women to trade for them; and that, on the whole, the nation was every day improving so much as quite to astonish him. He spoke highly of the discipline of the troops, and of Mr. Brady, by whom the alteration in their general appearance and conduct had been effected, and he seemed to consider his services as of great consequence to the country.

At dinner Mr. Hastie and the aged councillor were joined by the king, who, appearing to be most pleased with some of the articles of food from England, an opportunity was afforded Mr. Hastie to remark, that Madagascar had not the resources of England, which occasioned its dependence upon it; but the industry of the people would, in some measure, remove the wants it suffered; and this led to a general conversation on the advantages arising from industry. The king related to his people, who sat around him upon the ground, the purport of the conversation, in such a manner,

as betrayed a wish to induce them, if possible, to entertain a favourable opinion of the English nation.

At the dinner-table the next day, Radama was expatiating with great warmth on the advantages of civilization, when Mr. Jones, who was present, introduced some remarks that were evidently pleasing to the king, and probably opened the way for the countenance he afterwards met with at the capital. On Mr. Hastie's returning home with the king, he said he had been considering the object of his visit, and would be very glad to agree to the terms proposed, had not the failure of the first attempt placed an insurmountable obstacle to attempting it again. "My trial," said he, "was attended with many difficulties, and I would not for all I can possibly gain, that the English should at any future period charge me with deception; there are many districts not yet under my influence, from which slaves are sold, and this may give occasion to charge me with deceit, when I am entirely innocent. Besides," he added, "I promised the English to suppress the traffic; but I did not receive the promised equivalent for doing so; and I then entered into an engagement, at least I have avowed to my subjects that I can no longer treat with a nation that did not keep faith with me, and that I would not again stop the sale of slaves. And how can I now deviate from this promise? There was good reason for my not keeping my engagement with the English, but there is none for similar conduct towards my own subjects."

Mr. Hastie explained how the pledge entrusted to him was a security to the king; and gently hinted that the traffic *must* be abolished, that it was inhuman, and that his being the last to suppress it would be a stigma on his name, whereas the contrary would make it live for ever in the hearts of his people.

At a public meeting of his ministers and people, where the king laid the proposals of the governor before them, he was, as might have been anticipated, wholly unsuccessful in obtaining a favourable hearing in relation to the renewal of the treaty. Another public council was, however, convened for the same purpose; but before Mr. Hastie accompanied the king to meet his people, he requested a few minutes' private conversation with him, when he asked Radama what he had to hope for from the meeting, telling him that with him alone Great Britain sought alliance—and he alone continued the inhuman traffic. The British government sought no emolument, and had no motive but the good of his country; and that he, Mr. Hastie, trusted his conduct would make generations to come venerate the name of Radama as the saviour of his people and the founder of their freedom. Mr. Hastie then gently asked what resources he had, or when he could obtain what was offered to him, and entreated that he would not divest himself of the power of protecting a people who now adored him, but who must fall, if he did not accept the means offered him, which he, of course, could not expect, if the English abandoned him, and by other means suppressed the traffic.

He replied that he was well convinced of the propriety of all that had been said. He clearly saw the advantages and disadvantages; "but," said he, "why did you not come back when you promised? Why bring me to my present dilemma? I made a solemn engagement with you. You broke it. I then made an engagement equally solemn with my subjects—they have strictly observed their part. Put your hand here," said he, placing his on his heart, "and say what am I to do?"

Mr. Hastie replied, that he was to value the lasting wel-

fare of his country, and to let no past act prevent his availing himself of the means of protecting his people, now that the king of England offered him the means of doing so. "Recollect," said Mr. Hastie in conclusion, "you are now trading with a few renegadoes—I am sent here to offer you the alliance of a powerful monarch, and amity with the nation that rules the sea."

Shortly after this conversation, the king met his counsellors in public, and the British agent was requested to appear before the assembly, and explain the nature of his mission. Mr. Hastie begged permission for Mr. Jones also to be present; for though he had no concern in political affairs, the government agent was desirous of obtaining his concurrence in all that might transpire; and the king evincing great pleasure in the proposition, Mr. Jones was accordingly requested to be present. On his arrival, Mr. Hastie commenced with describing the disinterested conduct of the British government, in seeking an alliance with Radama; the advantages he had derived, and would in future derive, from that alliance; and the evils that would ensue, should he refuse to cement a friendship thus begun, by pursuing a traffic disgraceful and inhuman, and which was carried on only in his country—a country that naturally possessed such other resources, as with the amity proposed would render the monarch powerful, his people happy, and would make his name live for ever.

This was minutely explained to the assembly by the king in such a manner, as clearly shewed he intended the arguments should carry conviction to the hearts of his people. His ministers, however, murmured amongst themselves; but he desired them to speak—and Rafaralahy, the most powerful chief, repeated the history of the commencement of the alliance, and the treaty of 1817, detailing every

thing favourable until he came to the breach on the part of the English government. He then paused, evidently incapable of expressing his sense of the injustice of what followed; and his eloquent silence had such an effect upon the assembly, that it appeared for the time to neutralize the impression of every good act and favourable intention which the English nation had manifested towards that country. Many voices were then heard speaking together, and in the confusion which followed, the king observed to Mr. Hastie, "You see I am inclined, but my people are not. Even he who is not possessed of either a slave or a dollar will be against me. I recollect hearing of the conduct of the French nation to a late king!"

Mr Hastie replied, that he was not sent to discuss the good of Madagascar with a man who had neither slave nor dollar; his mission was to a man who was responsible to Almighty God for his conduct. "Did that great king your father," asked Mr. Hastie, "consult such persons as you have described, when that monarch did things never heard of in this country before? or have you, Radama, consulted such persons in what you have done? I repeat again, that treaty, if you now avail yourself of the opportunity of ratifying and consolidating it, will be for the permanent welfare of this country."

"I am very desirous," said the king, "of this alliance, but how am I to convince an ignorant people. No Englishmen come to enlighten them. You propose an alliance, and do not afford me the means of turning the attention of my subjects to your proposals?"

Mr. Hastie replied, that so long as he permitted the slave-trade, no nation could countenance him, nor would any persons capable of instructing his people settle in the country, as civilized men would not be so mad as to risk

that their children should become the property of others, and he was not going too far in begging that the king would not set up his own judgment against all the sovereigns of the world, as he alone continued the inhuman traffic, and by this blot upon his character prevented his intercourse with more enlightened people. "Stop the slave-trade," continued Mr. H., "and you will have people of every nation visiting your country. The Isle of France is not peopled by French and English alone; there you will find people from every quarter of the world, because our king and constitution protect all equally."

A long silence ensued, after which Mr. Hastie begged to state that Governor Farquhar would receive Radama's free subjects for instruction, and had ordered his agent to say that he would send the king some good artificers with their tools; but it must be Radama's act alone that would induce clever men to settle in his country, and improve his people, as the Society that sent out Mr. Jones from London for the instruction of the people of Madagascar, would send other persons not exclusively confined to religious views and general education, but who would also teach arts and trades.

The subject was at length explained to the assembly, and, when done a second time, was received with unbroken silence. At length, however, Rafaralahy spoke, for the purpose of bringing forward some objections which had occurred to him since the former meeting; and these being met by very satisfactory statements on the part of the British agent, the meeting broke up at a late hour, with evidently more favourable feeling towards a renewal of the treaty.

On the day after the kabary, Mr. Hastie, following his object with his indefatigable perseverance, requested an audience with two of the king's ministers, whom he addressed

in the same language he had so often used to Radama, earnestly entreating them to consider the welfare of their country, to abandon private momentary interest, and to agree to the terms proposed.

In the afternoon of this day, a vast multitude were assembled around the palace, when Mr. Jones attended as on the former occasion. The king appeared weak and fatigued, probably from the unusual claims upon his attention which the great point in question presented, and the anxious solicitude with which he had pressed the subject upon his counsellors, not only through many hours of each day, but also through great part of the night. He had sent round to collect the principal chiefs of the districts, and even the father of his mother was not forgotten in this great national assembly.

In addressing Mr. Hastie, he said that he had now given the subject his mature consideration; that his people were ignorant, and that nothing less than a covenant to instruct them would induce him to comply with the proposed terms. Mr. Hastie then stated that he was authorized to take some of his subjects to the Mauritius for this purpose, and that the government would send him some good artificers with their tools, to facilitate the improvement of his people. He said several of his people wished to visit England, and requested that he might be permitted, at the expense of the English government, to send people there for instruction, but particularly some of his ministers, to visit the king of England, and ascertain if that monarch was really inclined to observe the proposed treaty. This, however, Mr. Hastie refused to promise, reminding the king, that when the governor, in 1817, had offered to take some of his people with him to England, the offer had been refused, and that now the government might not have any proper escort for such

a purpose. Radama then reverted again to the instruction of his people, stating with great emphasis, that nothing but instruction could alleviate their present misery. He said he would write to the governor on the subject, and on being urged not to trifle or delay, he left the assembly, declaring that he would write, and Mr. Hastie should have his letter on the morrow.

Accordingly, on the following morning of October the 10th, 1820, the British agent received an open letter from the king to his excellency Governor Farquhar, declaring that he was anxious to cement the proposed alliance; but as nothing but instruction could alleviate the circumstances of his people, he could comply with the treaty on one condition only, which was, that he should receive artificers, and be permitted to send some of his subjects to Mauritius and some to England, for instruction; and he required that Mr. Hastie should obtain the governor's sanction to this important object. Mr. Hastie replied to the ministers who bore the letter, that he had orders to promise artificers, and to take his people to the Mauritius to be instructed, but his power was confined to that; at the same time Mr. Hastie requested to know how many persons the king wished to send. He answered in writing, that he would send twenty, and desired his ministers to inform Mr. Hastie, that if he could not agree to that, he would no longer argue on the subject, as instruction only could repay his country; and the security he offered in sending his subjects, would also induce those at home to conform to the proclamation, and abandon the traffic.

It afterwards appeared that this measure had been proposed to the agent as a sort of test of the sincerity of the British government, of which the ministers and people still entertained considerable suspicion; and it is probable that Mr. Hastie, aware of their design, formed his determination

accordingly. He states in his journal, in which the whole of these truly interesting transactions are recorded, that he maturely weighed the matter, consulted with Mr. Jones, and reflecting that the breach of faith which had taken place, gave the strongest grounds for distrust on the part of the king and people, that the individuals proposed to be sent would be a security, and that the cause of humanity demanded some sacrifice of expense, he replied, that he would agree to take six of the king's subjects, who should be sent to England, and instructed in different arts.

In a subsequent interview on the same day, the king, with that shrewdness which characterized his conduct throughout this transaction, asked Mr. Hastie, how he came to agree to offer to take six of his subjects to be sent to England; probably supposing, that as this was unauthorized, it would not be fulfilled. Mr. Hastie told him plainly what were the circumstances of his situation, explaining the degree of confidence reposed in him by Governor Farquhar, and said, that when he agreed to this act, he was at the same time determined to offer a personal sacrifice of his salary to pay their expenses, if the measure did not meet with the approbation of government. He entreated the king to believe that he did so from the best motives, and again urged him to show the world that he was acting as an enlightened and benevolent king, and not as a barbarous chief.

This was also explained to the people; and although they still murmured, it was not difficult for the agent to perceive that he was gaining ground. This night the king sat up till daybreak with his counsellors, and, about eleven the following morning, sent his ministers to Mr. Hastie with his final determination, which was, that the treaty should be ratified that day, that he would publish his former pro-

clamation, and that the traffic in slaves for exportation should instantly cease, if Mr. Hastie would agree to take twenty of his subjects to be instructed—ten to proceed to England, and the other ten to remain at the Mauritius.

In describing the 11th of October 1820, when the treaty was publicly renewed, the indefatigable Hastie observes, "The moment arrived when the welfare of millions was to be decided: I agreed!—and I trust that Divine Power which guides all hearts, will induce the government to sanction the act. The kabary was convened, the proclamation published, and received with transport by thousands. The British flag was unfurled; and freedom—freedom from the bloody stain of slave-dealing—hailed as the gift of the British nation. "I declare," adds this generous-hearted man, "the first peal of Radama's cannon announcing the amity sealed, rejoiced my heart more than the gift of thousands would have done."

"Radama had now shewn himself worthy of being a civilized king. Words cannot describe the joy that prevailed in the capital, or the willing and gladsome activity and diligence with which the despatches to the districts were instantly forwarded. The king desired me to write without delay to Tamatave, to secure a passage to the Mauritius, and he sent off a courier with my letter. By the same messenger he sent orders for *the immediate return of all slaves sent down to the coast, and not then sold.* He published an edict, that if any of his subjects were indebted to the slave-traders, they must without delay pay them in *money*, as on no pretext whatever could a deviation from his orders for the entire suppression of the slave-traffic meet a milder punishment than death.

The king also desired that I would draw up an article to the purport of what I agreed to; and he wished at the same

time that eight boys, to be instructed in military music, should be included in the agreement; and he would have copies made by Mr. Robin, and take time for an early signing them, as he did not wish me to be detained more than eight days."

On the 14th of October the king went in state, attended by his ministers, to Mr. Hastie's residence, for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, and signing the new article of proclamation. When this business was concluded, he turned to Mr. Hastie, and expressed himself as follows:—"You tell me, Hastie, that you are sent to pay me for the nine months that I observed the treaty. The fact is, I strictly observed it for twelve months; and though many reports unfavourable to the English government reached me, I was obstinate in disbelieving their bad faith; and the returning of the boys I sent with you for instruction, alone convinced me that I was deceived. I know that during the period I speak of, many slaves, who had been previously purchased, were exported; and to shew you that I can do a generous act, here is a receipt for the money and horses for the following year. What your government proposed paying me, will help to defray the expense of instructing the people you take with you. As to Jean René, pay him the sum first agreed upon, six hundred dollars a year. We cannot revert to the past, but I will make him well acquainted with my intentions for the future. You need make no comment on what I have now said. If your government instruct my people, I am theirs for ever!"

Having thus concluded, the king commenced a friendly conversation, giving Mr. Jones every encouragement. Mr. Hastie observes, he had always entertained a favourable opinion of the king, but this conduct exceeded his highest expectations.

Immediately after the proclamation was issued, it became a matter of earnest desire to obtain the permission of the king to furnish the children to be sent out of the country for instruction, many offering premiums to effect their purpose. When the boys were chosen, some of them applied to Mr. Hastie to take money for the purpose of defraying any extra expense; but the king put a stop to their applications by saying that the children were sent for instruction, and, of course, must be supplied by the British government with what was necessary; but they were not to expect more, as nothing was further from his intention than that any unnecessary expense should be incurred. The boys themselves do not appear to have been equally solicitous with their parents for the privileges offered them. Two days after this, Radama informed Mr. Hastie that an unexpected evil had already arisen out of the liberty his subjects enjoyed by the renewal of the treaty. "A lad," said the king, "who was selected for the Mauritius, in perfect health yesterday, when called for this morning, said he was sick, and could not proceed; but," said the king, "I soon found a remedy for his complaint. I gave orders that he should have fifty stripes, and be hoisted by the thumbs to such height on the flag-staff, as all in the capital may see the example—and trust it will not be without effect."

Prince Rataffe and Rafaralahy were the two chiefs appointed to accompany Mr. Hastie to Mauritius, and, if permission could be obtained, they were to proceed to England; but the latter unfortunately defeated his object by asking for one of his wives to accompany him; which drew upon him the king's displeasure, and was the cause of Andriansimisetra's being appointed in his stead.

On the 19th of October, the party being fully prepared,

the king paid a visit to his friend, and almost covered him with a piece of white cloth. He then accompanied him half way down the hill, the road being lined with troops, and took leave of him in the most friendly manner, under a salute of cannon. Two companies of soldiers then escorted the travellers about a mile further on their way, and, after another salute, returned.

At a short distance from Zozora, a place about one day's journey from Tananarivo, the party was met by about one hundred marmites, whose burdens convinced Mr. Hastie that they were going to the capital in expectation of obtaining slaves. Many of them were trusty men of the chief of Tamatave, and on inquiry they reported themselves to be sent by that chief. As an excuse for their journey, they said they were conveying presents for the king. One of them had with him a portrait of the king of France.

A few minutes after this party, the travellers observed several people approaching, several of whom saluted Mr. Hastie, who was at that time proceeding on foot, and insisted on carrying him. On asking their reason for so polite a proposal, they replied that the king had published his proclamation prohibiting the sale of his subjects at each of the weekly bazaars—that it had reached them but yesterday, and they were proceeding with tribute to him; "for," said they, "we no longer dread being transported from our country; and if we commit a crime that subjects us to slavery, we may, by industry, redeem ourselves; and as we are going to manasina the king, we must also shew you what we feel."

"They carried me a short way," says Mr. Hastie, "but I would not retard their journey. Most earnestly do I wish that his excellency Governor Farquhar could be here for a short period, to witness this conduct of a people who owe

their security in their homes to the interest the British nation, through him, has taken in the welfare of Madagascar."

Without wishing to depreciate the honourable and generous conduct of the British government, or of its representative at the Mauritius, it is impossible to read the faithful narrative of Mr. Hastie without feeling desirous of awarding to him also his full share of credit in these transactions.

The moral character of a nation just emerging from barbarism, may be affected for generations, often for ages, by the honourable, upright, and conscientious, or false, treacherous, and sordid, conduct of the agents employed by more enlightened and powerful countries. We have seen, in tracing out the last few years of the history of Madagascar, that a breach of public faith, authorized by one individual, brought a disgraceful stigma on the British name, and a lasting stain upon the British character, and was the cause of thousands of human beings being plunged, in the course of a few months, into a state of wretchedness and slavery. Well would it be for our country if this was a rare occurrence, if her moral reputation had not often been foully stained in the eyes of nations who are destitute of the means of moral dignity which we possess! And if we could also estimate the sum of misery, vice, and pollution with which the slave traffic has ever been accompanied, we should then be better able to give our just tribute of gratitude and admiration to the zealous, loyal, disinterested, and benevolent exertions of the British agent in Madagascar.

After passing parties of slave-dealers, chiefly Frenchmen, almost at every stage, the travellers arrived at Tamatave on the 1st of November. Here they were received with a clamorous welcome, and in barbarous state, by Jean René,

who expended ten pounds of powder in announcing their approach. Upwards of a hundred and fifty Mozambiques were then at Tamatave on sale; and, by the confession of the chief, he had himself some time before offered the Arabs, who carried on this traffic, a situation for establishing a settlement on the coast.

In a kabary summoned by the chiefs, at which fifty-five traders were present, and all the natives, including both the Hovas and Arabs then in the place, Prince Rataffe addressed the assembly, telling them in plain terms, that their lives should be the forfeit of any deviation from the king's orders, whereby they were commanded that they should not, on any pretext whatsoever, sell slaves to any but natives of the country, and not for exportation; and at the same time the prince made known to them, that the person who should detect another violating this law, should receive the slave or slaves proposed to be sold, at a premium, on the delivery of the criminal to the king.

Jean René then addressed the assembly to the same effect; but the confused murmurs, which continued to increase amongst the traders, threatened no very amicable conclusion. He delivered his address, however, and maintained his position with more firmness than had been expected from his well-known character; and when Rataffe desired that the accounts of the traders should, without delay, be furnished to the chief; and promised, that the king would liquidate all their debts, if not unlawfully contracted, something like order was restored; but the British agent still felt fully convinced, that if he had gone to Tamatave, unaccompanied by any persons of distinguished rank in the island, all his endeavours to enforce the new law would have been fruitless.

On the 5th of November, Mr. Hastie set sail from Tamatave for Port Louis, in Mauritius, after having requested Jean René to draw up an extract from Radama's proclamation, to be sent by the Arabs, then at Tamatave, to their settlement on the western coast, in order that none of them might plead ignorance of the law, or be unacquainted with the king's intentions; and by this act of precaution, he closed the long and difficult negociations, which no individual, less clear-sighted, or less influenced by high and honourable feeling, would have been able to bring to an equally satisfactory conclusion.

If the generous and noble feelings of the British agent had been roused to indignation by what he had seen and heard in Madagascar, they were no less so by scenes which he afterwards witnessed in Mauritius, when, with the Rev. D. Griffiths, he visited some rescued slaves, whose circumstances form another illustration of the abominations of the slave-trade, and of the means by which illegal importations of slaves to Mauritius, by participation, connivance, or neglect, was effected, until it reached the fearful extent which recent parliamentary inquiries have disclosed.

A vessel was discovered, under French colours, landing slaves (illegally of course) in Mauritius. An English schooner chased, and attacked her, when, unable to land all their cargo, and yet unwilling to leave the vessel to fall into the hands of the English, the traders set her on fire, and left four women alive on board, who perished in the flames. The slaves had been brought from the Mozambique shore, and, on being landed, were concealed in the woods. On being discovered, they expressed themselves happy in having fallen into the hands of the English. The governor offered a reward of seven thousand dollars for the

discovery of the parties; but none of the principals in the transaction were found.

A short time after the departure of Mr. Hastie for the coast, three slave-dealers arrived at Tananarivo, bringing with them no less than two hundred bearers of various articles of merchandise, with which they had expected to purchase slaves. The trade was, however, peremptorily and finally interdicted; and so strict were the injunctions, and so vigilant the care of Radama to see the treaty observed, that the traders were compelled, with no little chagrin, to retrace their steps to the coast, having been obliged to sell their goods at half price, without effecting the object of their journey to the capital.

About the same period Radama received some handsome presents from both their majesties, the king of England and the king of France. A portrait of Louis XVIII. was presented to him by means of a French officer, who, at a public dinner given on the occasion, introduced some deistical opinions, and, in fact, advocated sentiments nearly allied to atheism. The tenour of the conversation was intended to unsettle the mind of Radama respecting the treaty he had just made with England, and more particularly the permission and encouragement he had promised to the labours of Christian Missionaries. The king and his ministers defended the opposite side of the question with considerable energy, and supported Mr. Jones in the arguments he adduced, exclaiming loudly, "There must be a God!" It is, however, in some degree uncertain whether the idols might not have been meant by this expression, rather than the true God, so indefinite is the meaning of that word in the Malagasy language; but in either case it shews the conviction of the heathen, that there must be some supreme being.

The presents which Radama received from the king of England afforded him great pleasure. He valued them not only on account of their intrinsic worth, but as proofs of friendship towards himself. He called together his family and officers, and shewed to their astonishment a gold cup, two gold spears, a sword, a brace of pistols, a fowling-piece, &c. from his majesty George IV., exclaiming, "I am the child of the king of England, and have nothing to fear, now that I have such a friend as this."

Immediately after this, and in consequence of receiving the presents, Radama erected in the village of Ambohitsarohitra, distant only a few minutes' walk from the capital, a high pole covered with enormous spikes, and having a rope swung from the top by a hole passing through it. This was intended as a mode of punishing capitally any of his subjects who should be guilty of an infraction of the law against the slave-trade. He at the same time sent off his orders, in French and English, to Mazanga, on the western coast, forbidding both Arabs and natives to carry on the trade, although that part of Madagascar had not yet acknowledged his sovereignty.

When the information reached Radama, in January, 1821, by letters from Sir Robert Farquhar, that his excellency had agreed to all the conditions of the treaty, and that every thing was finally arranged and confirmed, *he danced with delight;* and on receiving communications from his brother-in-law, Prince Rataffe, respecting his reception at Mauritius, he actually *shed tears of joy*— a strong indication of the warm interest he cherished in the object to which he had pledged himself, and that, in honourable and noble sensibility of heart, he was not inferior to the refined inhabitants of more enlightened and powerful nations.

Nor was the triumph of Radama over the all-potent sikidy, (the divination of Madagascar), less gratifying and complete, when he learned by letters from Mr. Hastie, that he was about to return from Mauritius with the equivalent. From the time of Mr. Hastie's departure from Tananarivo, the sikidy had frequently, in fact daily, assured the king, that the English would again act the same part as before, and never remit the promised supplies; but Radama, on hearing from his friend that he was actually coming as he had promised, evinced the most unfeigned delight, and denounced the sikidy for having so repeatedly predicted falsehoods.

The people from the province of Ankay, called the Bezanozano, were sent off to Tamatave by the king's directions to meet Mr. Hastie, and to carry up the equivalent to the capital; and on account of this service, which was now appointed them as a regular duty, they were to be permanently exempted from going to war.

In due time, the British agent arrived at Tamatave with the articles which in the treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade he had engaged, on behalf of the British government, should be furnished. According to the instructions of the king, they were conveyed to the capital, where Mr. Hastie received the most cordial welcome from Radama, whose confidence in the British government was not only completely restored, but his just opinion of the fidelity, enterprise, and perseverance of his long-tried friend abundantly confirmed; while he felt himself bound by this proof of the integrity of the British, to exercise the utmost vigilance in fulfilling his part of the engagement, preventing any infraction of the treaty by the people, and encouraging them to the most industrious use of the means of improvement now secured.

In the autumn of this year, Radama was so far encouraged by the improved discipline of his troops, as to turn his thoughts to the further prosecution of the war with the Sakalavas. For this purpose a kabary was held in Andoholo, at which forty or fifty thousand persons were present. It was then resolved to renew the hostilities, and that every man capable of carrying arms should go to war, or pay a forfeit of ten dollars.

Preparations for this purpose were made during the rainy season, and early in the ensuing spring the people were ready to commence the expedition. Including a thousand disciplined troops, with slaves and attendants, the whole aggregate amounted to seventy or eighty thousand; and with this formidable body the king set out in June. On the twenty-third of that month, about five hundred heads of the people from different districts, assembled in the court-yard of the palace, bearing their shields and spears, assuring their monarch of their fidelity in the approaching war, and betting wagers from five dollars to a thousand—the coward to pay the brave. The king stood at the door of his palace, holding his spear and shield, exciting the ardour of his people by his actions and addresses, prompting them to bet high, and promising to confer his greatest honours on the brave, and to reward them with nine dollars for every head of the enemy; at the same time representing the Sakalava country as abounding in cattle, where abundance of booty might be obtained.

At break of day, on the 24th, cannon were fired as the signal of departure. The king, acting as priest as well as general, sacrificed a cock and a heifer, and offered a prayer at the tomb of Andria Masina, his most renowned ancestor. Then, mounting a car or chair covered with scarlet cloth, decorated with ornaments, and carried by bearers, he left

the capital accompanied by the British agent, and a vast concourse of people. The national idols were taken with the army, and, as if they were not powerful enough to secure the victory, every clan and tribe took its own, and each individual his charm or ody. The sikidy was also fully employed, directing the course to be taken, the water to be drank, the situations for encampments, where to ford or cross rivers, the plans to be adopted by the soldiers, and the measure of success to be anticipated. Birds crossing the path, or flying over the heads of the troops, were also carefully observed, as auguring well or ill to the expedition.

Of this vast multitude, the people kept their own respective clans, and every clan had its own leader. Each individual also furnished himself with his own weapons, whether gun, or spear and shield. The town and its vicinity appeared deserted by their departure, few being left behind except the women and children, the aged and infirm.

Raholatra, brother to Ramitraha, chieftain of the Sakalavas, acted as guide to Radama on this occasion, though not filling a place of perfect trust. The two brothers had quarrelled, and hence the former attached himself to the Hovas in this campaign. Every precaution, however, was taken to prevent his proving a traitor, and betraying those who now submitted themselves to his guidance. For this purpose, one hundred men accompanied him, and watched all his movements. The king advanced by short stages for the first few days; an arrangement was afterwards made for the dispersion of the people under their respective leaders, and a place appointed for them to reassemble in one body.

The 8th of July being the day on which it was expected that the king would enter the territory of the Sakalavas, all the females at or near the capital, of every rank and class, arose by daylight, and having formed themselves into small

parties, each commenced the mirary, or war-songs, in the form of prayers and benedictions for the safety and success of the king and the army, accompanied by imprecations on the enemy. They stood with their faces turned towards the west, the direction of the Sakalava country, holding rods in their hands, and which they brandished like spears, and endeavouring by every kind of warlike movement to excite themselves to enthusiasm. This practice was continued every morning and evening, and sometimes through the principal part of each day. The words of the song consisted chiefly of the praises of the sovereign, such as "God is gone to the west," "Conquer wherever thou goest." The warriors were also supposed to be addressed, "Bravely use the spear," &c.

The expedition lasted until the end of the month of October. Its principal object was to search for Ramitraha and his people, and to seize whatever booty could be secured. In these pursuits their conduct is said rather to have resembled the ravening of wolves than the deliberate attack of warriors. If they could seize cattle, or surprise a few defenceless people, they rushed upon them with fury. In the moment of danger, no one took thought for his neighbour, or cared for maintaining his post of honour. Each one's motto seemed to be, to take care of himself, seizing whatever booty could be obtained, or effecting his escape whenever danger threatened.

Fever, and the want of provisions, proved dreadfully destructive to the troops in this expedition. It was calculated that not fewer than twenty-five or thirty thousand perished in the campaign, and most of these from hunger. The stock of provisions carried from Imerina was consumed, and no supplies could be obtained. Even Radama himself, and the British agent, had a mere handful of rice, and a

few birds which they shot, during the space of eight days. The people died on the road, unable to sustain the complicated evils arising out of the heat of the climate, the destructive fever, and the dearth of sustenance. So great were the losses sustained, that it became a general observation—"The Ambaniandro are exhausted; clean dried up. Of the people there are no more!" Every village, every family, had cause to share in the general lamentation; all had to mourn some deceased friend or relation; and, for months afterwards, not a day transpired without the firing of musketry in some part of the capital, as an indication of the arrival of the corpse of one who had fallen in the war. In many instances the bones only were brought, the flesh having been all carefully scraped off on the spot where the body was found.

At the capital of Ramitraha, a place called Mananarivo, fifteen miles from the Mozambique channel, Mr. Hastie found one of the idols belonging to that chieftain. The Hovas were delighted; for having got possession of the object worshipped, they were confident they should soon find the worshippers. "The Sakalavas," said they, "abandon their gods: their gods will abandon them." In this, however, they were mistaken; for the caverns and forests in which the enemy were concealed, proved a better protection than their gods. Of slaves and cattle, however, the Hovas took vast numbers, as well as of free people, who were then sold into slavery, and with these they returned to Tananarivo. In consequence of the sickness of the people, it was found impossible to convey two pieces of cannon, which had been taken, to the capital, they were, therefore, buried near the banks of the great river Mania, and afterwards brought up by a party under the command of Ramanetaka.

On the king's return with the people, they rested a few miles west of Tananarivo. There Radama and all his followers bathed, as a religious ablution on returning from the war; after which the king proceeded in pomp to Tananarivo, and alighted on the holy stone at Andohalo. The idols were then brought to bless him; and a bullock brought to secure benedictions on the people, and indemnify and purify them from all blame. The king recapitulated, briefly, the events of the expedition; and praised those who had been left in charge of affairs at home, for their fidelity and attention; nor were the females permitted to go unrewarded with thanks, for able performances in singing the war-songs, and thereby contributing, as was supposed, to whatever measure of success had attended the expedition.

CHAP. X.

Honours conferred on the officers who had distinguished themselves in the war—Public assembly for augmenting the army—Numbers engaged as regular troops—Military review—Prayer of Radama on behalf of the army—Harangue of the king—Establishment of the first school at the capital by Mr. Jones—Arrival of Mr. Griffiths—Friendly reception of the British agent, missionary, and artisans, by the king—Encouragement afforded by Radama to the Missionaries—Arrival of European females at the capital—First specimens of needle-work done by the scholars presented to the king—First Protestant baptism in Tananarivo—Enlarged mission-buildings—Views of the people in reference to the instruction of the children—Visit of Prince Rataffe to England—Letter from Radama to the directors of the London Missionary Society—Return of the Prince to Madagascar accompanied by missionary artisans—Arrival of the party at Tamatave—Journey to Tananarivo—Friendly attention of the king—Establishment of a settlement at Foule Point—Examination of the schools—Public festival—Military expedition against the Sakalavas Triumphant return of Radama—Departure of the Sakalava nobles for the capital.

In the course of the following December, a general kabary was summoned, to determine what honours and rewards should be conferred on those who had signalised themselves in the late war. The regiment disciplined on the English system obtained the highest honours, as having displayed the greatest courage, and proved the most efficient and successful.

Eloquent speeches were made by the judges and the chiefs of districts, recounting the magnanimous acts they had formerly achieved, and declaring how faithfully they were devoted to their sovereign.

Radama then rose, and related his origin, his descent from the line of former sovereigns, and his incontestable right to the kingdom; made known his intentions in regard to a future campaign, and assured them he wished not to take the people in a body to the war any more; that the last expedition had been a lesson on that subject; that henceforth soldiers only should go out to subdue the enemy, to quell disturbances, to subject the island to his government, to protect the innocent, and to secure peace and tranquillity in the empire. "And for these reasons," said Radama, "it is necessary that the army should be augmented. As to the number requisite, and the quota of men each district should furnish, that I leave you to deliberate upon; at the same time, those who are not selected for soldiers, but who remain at home, must pay a tax towards the support of those who go to the war."

This address appeared to be cordially welcomed, and was loudly applauded. The king then requested that the men present who were willing to volunteer themselves for the service, should stand up, and form a separate body from the crowd. A great number instantly arose, and exclaimed, "We are at your will and pleasure, and deem it an honour to serve in the army."

The officers of the Voromahery regiment were then sent, to arrange them in companies of fifty, and to ascertain the whole number. About thirty thousand persons were present at this kabary.

In the course of a few days the king reported, that thirteen thousand men had volunteered to serve in the army. By the month of March they had attained a respectable proficiency in their exercises; and on the 25th a general kabary was summoned, to be held at a place near Ambohimanga, about thirteen miles from the capital. To

this place the king went, attended by his body-guard and singing-women. Immense crowds accompanied him. Never had the people witnessed so magnificent and imposing a spectacle. The king sent horses for the Missionaries, stating that he wished them to be present; and scarcely was an individual left in the capital. At the place of rendezvous, a wide plain, well adapted for the purpose, the troops already drawn up, formed three sides of a square, and the fourth was completed by the addition of two battalions, which presently marched in, accompanying the king from a neighbouring elevation. Having passed the whole in review, the king mounted a stage prepared for his reception, where, instead of the military dress he had been wearing, he put on his usual kabary costume—a dress that was partly native, partly European, and partly Arab.

After various military evolutions had been performed, and several rounds of musketry fired, the troops were drawn up into one close body, for the convenience of hearing the king's speech. He first ordered them to unfix their bayonets, while he offered a prayer; when, having taken hold of the idol, he returned thanks for past favours, and supplicated a blessing on his army and his subjects. This ended, the bayonets were again fixed, and Radama delivered a long and eloquent speech, in the course of which he was frequently cheered by the vast assembly, which amounted altogether to sixty or seventy thousand people. This speech embraced a variety of topics: his descent from Ralambo and Andria-masina-valona; the powerful kings who had preceded him, whose names he mentioned in connexion with their heroic actions and the weapons they had used; his father's character and virtues; and the bravery of their fathers, and of many of those then present, whose scars, still visible, afforded infallible evidence of their cou-

rage and fidelity. His mother's name and his own, with his right to the throne by birth, and by the will and designation of his father, were then described at length. After which he eulogized his troops in the most flattering terms, extolling their bravery and their loyalty, and commending the admirable manner in which they had gone through the exercises of the day. "You," said the king, "have been instructed, and have become superior to your forefathers; there is not a nation that you cannot conquer, not a power that you cannot subdue, not a town that you cannot enter; all that is essential now, is, a concentration of your forces, steady union, and co-operation. You remember the words of my father: 'Radama,' said he, 'you see the whole land is yours, from north to south, and from east to west. Our people are richer and happier than those of any other part of the island. It is your honour to be their king, and their happiness to be your subjects. Rest not until you have conquered and gained the whole island.' To effect this," continued Radama, "I have done the best I could up to this day. I have been convinced of the superiority of disciplined troops. Thirteen thousand have volunteered into the army; and by an alliance with one of the most enlightened nations, the English, I shall be able to furnish you with clothes, arms, and ammunition. I now leave you to consider and determine what shall be the punishment inflicted upon cowards and deserters; and if every officer and every soldier will do his duty, there is no difficulty to be apprehended—there is no danger to be feared."

The generals of Voromahery and of the Tsirondahy then rose in succession, and delivered their sentiments in speeches characterised by native eloquence and loyalty, speaking in the name of all the officers and soldiers, making the most solemn declarations of fidelity to their sovereign. The

troops in one unanimous voice loudly supported them, assuring the king of their devotedness and attachment. "With regard," said they, "to the negligent in the discharge of duty—to those who act a cowardly part—those who run away in an engagement, let the king do as he pleases with them—give them the tangena—shoot them—spear them—behead them—starve them, and give their bodies to be devoured by dogs; or let there be a pile of fagots prepared, and let them be burned, and then let the winds scatter their ashes to the ends of the earth."

He thanked the people for their loyalty, their oaths, and their promises. "But with regard to cowards and deserters," said he, "let there be no defined punishment. Those who are brave and faithful shall be distinguished by my commendation, and raised to honour."

The whole body of officers and men, however, with a determined voice, fixed upon burning as the military punishment for desertion and cowardice; this circumstance being at the same time agreed upon, that the crime of an individual should neither affect his family nor property.

The army then presented their hasina to the king, on the formation of the new law. The old chieftains also came forward and presented theirs, pronouncing benedictions on the sovereign, and expressing a hope that their children might become braver than they had ever been.

The king then left the stage, and retired to a tent prepared for him on the plain, where he invited his friends to dine with him, on which occasion he appeared to enjoy an extraordinary flow of cheerfulness and good spirits. Nor was his cheerfulness of that description, which might not, in some measure, be shared by those whose views were in many respects essentially different from his own, but who could still regard the circumstances of the day as affording

some security for the final suppression of the slave-traffic, and the ultimate annihilation of petty wars and devastations, by the union of the whole island under the government of one sovereign—a measure which, at that time, appeared ultimately connected with the civilization and improvement of the country. It was then not even imagined to what extent the power which the disciplined army of the Hovas would desolate the country, and destroy the inhabitants of other provinces of the island.

It has more than once been stated, that Radama received and treated Mr. Jones the Missionary with marked attention and respect; but it was not until after the delivery of the proclamation, and the final settlement of the treaty, that any distinct intimation of the king's wishes, respecting the continuance of Mr. Jones at the capital, was given.

A brief statement of the effects of the London Missionary Society's operations in the South Sea islands had been drawn up in French, and presented to Radama soon after Mr. Hastie's arrival, and it is more than probable that these statements had influenced the mind of the king, inducing him to avail himself of the offer of similar advantages for his own people.

No sooner was the British flag hoisted at the capital, on the memorable occasion of the treaty being ratified, than Radama sent a message to Mr. Jones, encouraging him to come and settle at the capital, promising countenance and protection to any other Missionaries who might arrive. Mr. Jones wrote to the king to ask if the wives and families of Missionaries might also come, and be assured of protection; to which his majesty immediately gave a satisfactory reply.

On the 8th of December, 1820, the operations of the Missionaries were commenced in the capital; Mr. Jones

on that day beginning a school with three children. The next day the number was increased, and subsequently more were added. An appropriate residence being required, Radama laid the foundation of a new house for Mr. Jones, and sprinkled it, according to the usage of the country, with sacred water. The people were astonished to find the king performing this act for a stranger and a white man, it having been the practice for him to restrict the ceremony to members of his own family. His object, however, was to give a public testimony of his respect for the Missionary, and thus to obviate the prejudices and conciliate the esteem of the natives, and to facilitate his labours among them and their children.

While Mr. Jones was attending to the improvement of his pupils, whose quickness and attention afforded the most satisfactory evidence of their capabilities, his future companion in the Missionary labour, the Rev. David Griffiths, who, having been sent to his assistance, had arrived at Mauritius, was availing himself of every means that island afforded for acquiring the Malagasy language. His excellency Governor Farquhar had expressed his satisfaction in finding the Mission about to be reinforced, and recommended Mr. Griffiths to await the good season before embarking for Tamatave in company with Mr. Hastie, who kindly invited him to his house, where he had the opportunity of increasing his knowledge of the language by constant association with some native youths.

About this period, a prince of the island of Johanna, with his suite, visited Mauritius, and was hospitably entertained by the British government, the particular charge of the visitors devolving upon Mr. Hastie. By this means, Mr. Griffiths had opportunities of meeting them frequently, and conversing with them respecting the language, manners,

and religion, of the Comoro Islands, with a view to the establishment of a Christian mission among them.

The object of this prince in visiting Mauritius, was to solicit the interference of the English, to protect them against the attacks of the Malagasy, who, from the north-west of the island, had long been in the habit of making an annual descent on the Comoro islands, for the purpose of plundering the country, and of seizing the inhabitants, whom they afterwards sold into slavery. The humanity of Sir R. Farquhar, and his correct views of what the welfare of Madagascar required, had already led him to make some stipulations on this subject in the treaty with Radama, though, in reality, the province of which Radama was chieftain had no connexion with the marauding parties, neither taking part in, nor sharing any advantage from them.

During the month of April, 1821, Mr. Griffiths sailed from Port Louis, accompanied by Mr. Hastie and some European artificers. About the middle of May they arrived at Tamatave, and commenced their journey to the capital. Various messages and letters from Radama met the British agent on his journey towards Imerina, all conveying the same assurances of friendly welcome. On reaching Ambatomanga, they were met by a deputation, consisting of Mr. Brady and a Malagasy officer, accompanied by Mr. Jones. By them it was stated, that although there was a general mourning at the capital on account of the death of the king's grandfather, this would not prevent their being immediately received by Radama; nor were they to wait for the arrival of a *good day*, as the king was desirous of seeing Mr. Hastie, and the strangers with him, without delay.

On the following morning, after a fatiguing journey of fifteen days, the party entered Tananarivo, the usual

honours being paid to the British agent, accompanied by the most respectful attention to the rest of the party. The king, splendidly dressed in an Arab uniform, received them on the balcony of the palace. They then presented the usual hasina, and afterwards partook of a dinner, which Radama had ordered to be prepared for them and other guests.

Mr. Griffiths remained with Mr. Jones in the house newly erected for him by order of the king. The pupils in the mission-school were then twenty-two in number; one-third of whom were females. They had all been selected from the king's family and favourites, and from the nobility. Among them was Rakatobé, son of Rataffe, then six years of age, and four young princesses. Some of these were already able to read in the bible, and had made considerable progress in other branches of education. The king, who was particularly pleased with their singing, used frequently to enter the school while they were thus employed, and would sometimes give out the line with which they were to commence. He was extremely desirous that these scholars should be well instructed, and that the first establishment of the kind in the capital should be called the Royal School.

After mature deliberation, it was agreed, that, with the consent of Radama, Mr. Jones should continue to have the care of the school already commenced, consisting of the children of the nobles; and that Mr. Griffiths should begin another for the children of the common people. Mr. Jones, however, being on the point of returning to Mauritius for a short time, it was agreed that his colleague should undertake the charge of the existing school until his return.

It could scarcely be expected that in so early a stage of

the Mission, the mind of Radama would be fully impressed with the importance or expediency of extending the advantage of education amongst his people generally, although a love of superiority, and a desire to encourage the pride of rank, might induce him to seek the instruction of the members of his own family, and those of his immediate associates. It was, however, extremely important to ascertain what were his views on this subject, before any measures were adopted for the formation of a school upon a wider scale. Happily the difficulties which had been apprehended disappeared as soon as the subject was explained to the king, who expressed his unqualified approbation of the whole arrangement, proposing, that when Mrs. Griffiths arrived, the girls should be instructed in needle-work and other useful attainments, and giving his cordial sanction for the Missionaries to do whatever they could in the general instruction of his people.

The same friendly feeling had been evinced by the king on the occasion of Mr. Hastie's delivering to him the letter of Governor Farquhar, in which Mr. Griffiths was recommended to his favourable notice. He expressed himself much pleased with the letter, and concluded by saying, that with regard to his excellency's request on behalf of the Missionaries, "he would be a father to them all." This favourable opportunity was embraced by Mr. Hastie, to impress upon the mind of Radama the value of education to his country, as well as to give to him correct views of the precise nature and objects of the Society's mission to Madagascar; with the whole of which his majesty appeared pleased.

Mr. Griffiths was for some time prevented from attending to the duties of the school, by an attack of Malagasy fever,

during which the knowledge Mr. Hastie had obtained of the best mode of treating the disease, proved of the greatest benefit. No sooner was he restored to comparative health, than Mr. Jones departed for the Isle of France, leaving his colleague in charge of his pupils, some of whom, though members of the royal family, continued to live in his house, as they had done with Mr. Jones, by which means they had the benefit of obtaining some knowledge of European manners, while the Missionary profited by the opportunity of improving himself in the native language.

In the month of August, Mr. Griffiths set out for Tamatave for the purpose of conducting his wife to the capital, and on this occasion he received the most convincing proofs of the kindness of the royal family towards him. One of the king's sisters sent her slaves to carry provisions, and several of the scholars accompanied them some miles on the way.

Previous to leaving home, he had addressed a letter to the king, begging permission to go down to Tamatave for his family; and the reply of Radama was as characteristic as it was satisfactory. "He came hither," said he, "of his own accord; and he is at full liberty to go and come when he pleases."

The king was then about to leave the capital for the purpose of making war upon the Sakalavas; and as he commenced his campaign before Mr. Griffiths set out, the latter left a letter to be presented to him on his return, in which he explained to his majesty, at some length, the object of the Society's mission to Madagascar, acknowledging in grateful terms his attentions and kindness, strongly recommending him to encourage education among his people, and soliciting him to provide, on the return of the Missionaries from Tamatave, houses for their accommodation, and scholars for their instruction. To this letter, Radama sent a most

satisfactory reply, promising, as far as was practicable, to meet the wishes of the writer.

On the first of October, the party from Mauritius consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Jones, and Mr. and Mrs. Griffiths and child, Mr. Barnsley assistant agent, and Mr. Carvaille, commenced their journey to the capital. While passing through the forest of Alamazaotra, they received presents of provisions from his majesty, and letters both from his majesty and Mr. Hastie, urging all possible speed, as the good season was then nearly over, and conveying fresh assurances that all which had been promised would be freely and fully granted to the Missionaries.

They reached the capital on the 16th of October. Mr. Hastie came down the hill to meet them, bearing a letter of congratulation from Radama. Twelve of his majesty's female attendants were also sent with refreshments. They were dressed in their native white robes, and profusely decorated with beads and trinkets. The appearance of a European child, and two females of the same complexion, attracted particular attention, being the first ever seen in the capital. On ascending the hill, Mr. Hastie took charge of the infant, observing with much good humour, "I shall take the first white child into the capital of Madagascar." He then conducted the party towards the palace amidst crowds of spectators, and the noisy shouts of the bearers, who took this method of announcing their joyful return home. On entering the court-yard, they were welcomed by his majesty, his mother, and one of his sisters; and, after presenting the usual hasina to the king, the party returned to partake of the hospitality to Mr. Hastie.

The next day the king, accompanied by the British agent, fixed upon the piece of ground he intended to grant as the site of a house for Mr. Griffiths; and no sooner

were these arrangements made, than the people began to level the ground and prepare for the foundation of the building.

On the 23d of October, Mr. Griffiths commenced his school with eleven boys and four girls, selected from some of the principal families in the town. All manifested an extreme eagerness for their parents to give them clothing similar to that worn by the Europeans. The boys brought cloth to be made into jackets and trousers—the girls, various kinds of cottons and stuffs for frocks, requesting the aid of the wives of the Missionaries in preparing them. It was curious to observe, on this occasion, the perpetual conflict which exists in the mind of the Malagasy, between his fondness for imitating what is novel, and his veneration for the "fanaondrazana," or custom of his ancestors. Most usual the latter prevails, except where the party possesses considerable influence and independence.

In the end of October, Mr. Jones, although suffering a relapse of the Malagasy fever, re-opened his school; and the king having expressed a wish to be present on the occasion, he was informed of the time at which it would take place.

Having taken his seat, he listened attentively while the children repeated what they had learned, and expressed himself gratified with the progress they had made, especially with their not having forgotten, during the absence of the Missionaries, what they had learned before.

It deserves to be recorded to the honour of the British government, that the expenses of the Missionaries, incurred in travelling from the Mauritius to the capital of Madagascar, were defrayed by order of Sir Robert Farquhar. On this, as well as on many other accounts, the Missionaries immediately concerned, but the Society at large, will long

cherish a grateful esteem for the zealous and enlightened friendship which Madagascar always found in the governor of Mauritius. By a letter from Sir Robert Farquhar to Mr. Jones, dated September 20th, 1821; after expressing his friendly wishes for the prosperity of the Mission, he authorized Mr. Jones to employ thirty dollars per month in support of the schools, which sum the government was to furnish yearly for the same purpose, leaving the specific approbation of the sum to the Missionaries.

A custom has prevailed from time immemorial in Madagascar, of presenting to the sovereign the first-fruits of the ground, and the first specimens of new productions or new manufactures, in short, of whatever is new of every description. In accordance with this custom, Mrs. Griffiths presented to the king, in December 1821, a specimen of the first-fruits of needle-work in Madagascar, the work of her pupils. The king, who was highly pleased, sent to thank her for teaching the girls, and presented each of them with a small piece of money. On various occasions the king expressed the interest he felt in their object; and by frequently visiting the Missionaries, endeavoured to convince them of his earnest wish to aid and encourage them in their work.

Christian baptism was administered by Protestants, for the first time in Madagascar, on New Year's day 1822, when Mr. Griffiths' infant, born in Mauritius, was dedicated to God in that ordinance by the Rev. D. Jones. A small congregation was formed on the occasion by the children of the two schools, a part of the royal family, Ralala the chief judge, and the French artisans from Mauritius. The king had been invited, but, being then at his country residence, forgot the precise time; for which, on the following day, he expressed his regret. The greatest order and regularity was manifested by all who attended, in whose minds a

service so novel appeared to awaken considerable interest; and this in return excited a corresponding interest in the members of the Mission. The sight of sixty heathen children, who a few months before were living without wholesome restraint, scarcely clothed, and having "no one to care for their souls," now assembled at the celebration of a Christian ordinance, habited in white European dresses, manifesting great decorum in their manners, and harmoniously uniting in the singing, afforded much gratification, and awakened the cheering hope that the period might not be far distant, when these youths should themselves profess their faith in Christ, and, by receiving the rite of baptism, declare themselves his disciples.

The nature of the baptismal service was briefly explained by Mr. Jones in the native language, and, for the sake of the French artisans, in their language also.

By the middle of January, the number of scholars having increased to thirty-eight, the house in which they met was found to be much too small, and in other respects extremely inconvenient. It was the king's mother's depôt for rice, mats, cooking utensils, dishes, &c., and wherever these are placed in store in any part of Madagascar, rats and mice are found to be extremely annoying. A room not more than twenty feet square, serving, by means of a few divisions, for dining-room, sleeping-room, and school-room, was evidently better adapted for a mere experiment than for a permanent abode. The roof being one of old-fashioned structure, immensely high at the ridge, was shaken by every breeze, and threatened to fall upon the heads of those below. Flooring was a luxury unknown, beyond a few coarse mats spread upon the floor, which became extremely damp in the wet season, and of course required constant care. The impossibility of doing much to extend

the benefits of education in so confined a space, and the erection of the house which had been commenced for Mr. Griffiths soon after his arrival, having long since been discontinued, he was induced to write to the king, thanking him for the attention already shown, assuring him that the Missionaries came to his country not to walk about in idleness, but to teach his people to be good and happy; and that with the wish of doing more in the way of instruction, he Mr. G. took the liberty of informing his majesty that nothing effective towards the erection of a school-house had yet been done, although he had been at the capital nearly three months."

To this the king replied,—

"Saith Radama,

"Live long, my friend; be not troubled. . will build you such a house as you wish, if my people can build it; but if you wish to have a house built on the same plan or similar to those at Mauritius, who can build it? If you can find a man to build it, I will furnish the wood. "Saith your good friend,

"RADAMA MANJAKA."

A plan of building was accordingly submitted to his majesty for approval; and a suitable spot of ground having been pointed out, the king was requested to direct that the building might be commenced without delay. His majesty replied, that he would give the ground, send the wood, and provide twelve workmen. On the 7th of February the building was commenced; and as soon as timber was again wanted, the king sent to the forest for it, giving five bullocks to the carpenters to divide amongst themselves, by way of encouragement.

It was not to be expected, however, that, even with the royal sanction, all the proceedings of the Missionaries should

be so far understood as to secure the approbation of the people at large; and about a month before this time, a curious misapprehension had taken place. The Missionaries, seeing no sufficient reason why a season for holidays should not be allowed in Madagascar as well as in England, and probably feeling the want of a little relaxation for themselves as well as their scholars, permitted the children to absent themselves for a few days from the schools. On the 30th of December, however, a kabary of the judges and people was held on the subject of the white people withholding instruction from their children; and without having first investigated the matter, or having suspected that there could be any reason in the case, they commenced a virulent and abusive attack upon the Missionaries, calling them owls, pigs, cats, dogs, and other equally opprobrious names. The kabary decided upon carrying the weighty affair to the king, and seeking the royal redress for their grievances. The king wrote to the Missionaries, asking why the children were not taught as usual; and stating, that if the scholars had behaved ill, they should be corrected, even though belonging to his own family. "They are," said the king, "yours, while they are under your care; and if they commit any great offence, let me know it, and I will see it arranged."

The whole affair was of course fully explained to the king; who replied, "It is all well and good:" and the affair terminated.

There is no doubt but the return of the Prince Rataffe from England about this time, tended very much to confirm the favourable disposition already manifested by Radama towards the Missionaries. On the final conclusion of the agreement for the suppression of slave-dealing in Madagascar, this amiable prince had been appointed to visit

England, for which country he sailed about the close of the year, after having experienced a most friendly reception from the governor at Mauritius. He was in the British metropolis during the anniversary meetings of the London Missionary Society, in May, 1821, when he attended the public meeting in Queen-street Chapel, accompanied by four of the youths who had been sent to this country for instruction. An address was delivered to him by the chairman, in French; and he was informed by the Rev. Rowland Hill, of the grateful feelings excited in the meeting by his visit; which, with the answer of the prince, was explained by his interpreter. The vast assembly present was highly gratified by the spectacle; to the agreeable effect of which, the benign aspect of the noble stranger greatly contributed. A few days before, the prince had been presented to his majesty at the drawing-room; and having accomplished the object of his visit, he returned to Mauritius.

The prince was the bearer of the following letter from Radama, king of Madagascar, to the London Missionary Society:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"When the treaty was concluded between me and Governor Farquhar, which had for its object the cessation of the exportation of slaves from the island of Madagascar, the Missionary, Mr. David Jones, accompanied the commissioners from the British government, and arrived at Tananarivo, the capital of my kingdom, with the intention of paying me a visit to solicit from me leave to settle, with other Missionaries, in my dominions. Having informed myself of his profession and mission, I acquiesced with much pleasure in his request.

"Mr. Jones, your Missionary, having satisfied me that those sent out by your Society have no other object than to enlighten the people by persuasion and conviction, and to discover to them the means of becoming happy, by evangelizing and civilizing them,

after the manner of European nations, and this not by force, contrary to the light of their understandings:

"Therefore, gentlemen, I request you to send me, if convenient, as many Missionaries as you may deem proper, together with their families, if they desire it; *provided* you send skilful artisans to make my people workmen, as well as good Christians.

"I avail myself, gentlemen, of this opportunity, to promise all the protection, the safety, the respect, and the tranquillity which Missionaries may require from my subjects.

"The Missionaries who are particularly required at present, are persons who are able to instruct my people in the Christian religion, and in various trades, such as weaving, carpentering, &c.

"I shall expect, gentlemen, from you, a satisfactory answer, by an early opportunity.

"Accept, gentlemen, the assurances of my esteem and affection.

(Signed) "RADAMA MANJAKA."

"Tananarivo, Oct. 29, 1820."

The youths sent over to England for education, were very cordially received by His Majesty's government, and were, with the exception of two who were sent to some of the establishments of government, to learn the art of making gunpowder, &c., confided to the care of the directors of the London Missionary Society, by whom they were placed under kind and attentive instructors;—and thus every possible attention was paid to the preservation of their health, the formation of their characters, and the accomplishment of the great object for which they had been sent to this country.

Influenced by the favourable views of Radama and the representations of Mr. Jones, the Missionary at the capital, another Missionary and four artisans were appointed to Madagascar; and when Prince Rataffe returned, he was accompanied by this reinforcement, which consisted of the Rev. J. Jeffreys and his wife, Messrs. Brooks, Chick, Canham, and Rowlands.

On reaching Mauritius, the members of the Mission were advised to await there the return of the good season for commencing their labours in Madagascar, but the prince set out immediately for his native land. The news of his arrival at Tamatave reached the capital in January, 1822; and such was the delight with which the intelligence was received by Radama, that he ordered the guns to be fired, and sent for the Missionaries to his palace, in order that they might share and witness his joy. When it was known that the prince had reached the foot of the hill on his approach to the capital, the king again wrote to Messrs. Jones and Griffiths, to meet him, and his brother-in-law, the prince. Two battalions were then drawn up in the court-yard, and a salute of cannon fired. Radama, waiving the usual forms of ceremony, and impatient to meet Rataffe, left the balcony at the door of his palace, and went forward to the front gate, saying, "I cannot stay any longer here; I must have a sight of him." Rataffe soon entered, dressed in English uniform; when the king shook hands with him, and expressed his joy on his return, the soldiers presenting arms, and the people their congratulations. Then taking him by the hand, the king led him into the palace, where he questioned him with great earnestness respecting England, his reception there, and the youths left behind for instruction.

The companions of his voyage, whom the prince had left behind at Mauritius, were so fortunate as to be joined at that island by Mr. Hastie, who rendered the most valuable assistance to them on their journey to the capital, and in their future intercourse with the king.

On the 6th of May, 1822, the party disembarked at Tamatave, where the British agent received from Jean René the most cheering accounts of his own prosperity, as

well as of the general progress of civilisation, under the instructions of the governor.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Hastie received a letter of welcome from Radama, sent by one of his officers, who informed him that all the chiefs and principal people of the low country had been directed to repair to Ambohibohazo, the ancient capital village, to which place Jean René was also invited, and where the Prince Rataffe was to meet the general assembly, for the purpose of publishing the king's orders, and particularly in making known all over the country the most positive commands of Radama, that there should be a total and eternal cessation of marauding or plundering, and that any persons found guilty of a breach of his commands on this subject would be liable to the most severe penalties.

At this public assembly Jean René declined being present in person, he could therefore only learn from his minister what had transpired at the meeting, and this was by no means satisfactory to him as an individual. The reason why he absented himself was, that the assassins of his brother Fisatra, who had lately suffered a violent death, were so far countenanced by the king as to be admitted to the assembly, and, either from feelings of personal fear, or a very natural and just abhorrence of their society, Jean René refused to meet them.

The account brought by the minister of the transactions of the great assembly was, that Prince Rataffe had published and declared before the vast multitude then collected together, that it was the positive command of Radama "that all past grievances, of every nature and kind, occasioning animosity to exist among the chieftains, or other persons resident in the low country, should be forgotten, and buried in eternal oblivion. That each and every one

of them should, from that moment, re-inherit the exact portions of land which he was by birthright entitled to; that all acquired and moveable property should remain in the hands of the present possessors; that any new cause of difference, or supposed trespass or grievance, should, by the parties actually concerned, be submitted to the king for his decision; and that any person infringing these laws, or detected in marauding or plundering, or taking it upon himself to avenge a real or supposed oppression, should be considered guilty of treason, and punished accordingly."

Such were the measures by which the king, whose mind appeared to be rapidly expanding, endeavoured gradually to raise his people out of the state of lawless barbarism, to which their minds had so long been accustomed; and few means could have been better adapted to facilitate his purpose in the first stages of its operation, than the national custom of delivering the commands of the prince or chieftain at a great kabary of his people, while inviolable sanctity was attached to any public pledge.

On the 10th of June, the mission party, conducted by Mr. Hastie, and accompanied by two German botanists, Messrs. Boyer and Helsinburg, from Mauritius, reached the capital, where they were received with as much public honour and individual attention as they could desire. After partaking of an excellent repast, during which Radama made many inquiries respecting his zealous friend Sir R. Farquhar, Mr. Jeffreys was conducted to a comfortable house prepared for his family; accommodations were also provided for the rest of the party.

On the following day, the British agent paid to the king that part of the equivalent for the slave-traffic, with which he had been charged, and delivered a number of acceptable

presents from his excellency, which Radama gratefully received as the gifts of his father, meriting his peculiar care and grateful thanks.

Having made the king acquainted with that part of the governor's orders which related to the Missionaries and artisans, Mr. Hastie obtained permission to introduce to his notice the four young men of the latter class, who had arrived at the capital; and after explaining to the king their individual and united pursuits, he obtained, for the use of Mr. Jeffreys and his family, a good house, in a large enclosure, and two servants to assist in the domestic duties of his family. The king granted also to the artisans a piece of land, in a situation extremely well adapted for the purposes of carrying forward their respective objects. A servant was also allowed to each, on condition that eight youths should be instructed by them in their several trades, and thus enabled to extend to the nation at large the knowledge which the Europeans were anxious to impart.

The king also placed under the orders of the two German botanists, ten labourers and two boys, requesting these gentlemen to take charge of his garden during their stay at the capital, and enclose any piece of land which they deemed eligible for the purpose, in order to show him a specimen of the system they wished to introduce in the cultivation of indigenous productions, and the plants and seeds brought into the country.

Ever watchful over the welfare of Radama, and solicitous for his and his people's good, the British agent could not help entertaining some suspicions that the military expedition for which the king was now preparing, might lead to the violation of the laws he had lately promulgated for the prevention of plunder, and injustice of every description. He had therefore repeatedly represented to Radama, that

for his own prosperity, and that of his subjects, as well as to satisfy the wants of the numbers under his command, who had been accustomed to derive profit from the traffic in slaves, it was highly incumbent upon him, the marauding and plundering of petty chieftains being suppressed, to endeavour to introduce to the attention of his people such lawful commerce as might create and nurture a spirit of emulation amongst them, contribute to increase his own revenue, and raise his country to its proper level amongst the nations of the earth. Having again repeated these arguments, Mr. Hastie ventured to express his disapprobation of the object of the expedition now under orders, having found that it was not destined for a maritime port, nor likely to be conducted in accordance with the orders lately published for the suppression of marauding and plunder. He also pointed out to the king the necessity of his forming garrisons in every port and harbour of the island, a system calculated effectually to secure to him the allegiance of the inhabitants of the interior, as he could thereby prevent their obtaining the implements of war; while he would, at the same time, be enabled to barter to advantage the produce of his country for the supplies he required.

Radama replied, that it was his particular desire to establish an honourable commerce; that the expedition under orders was not less intended for that purpose, than for reducing to obedience the refractory chieftains of the west, who provoked and even challenged him to battle; that his troops, only newly disciplined, were not so inured to war as to afford him confidence in their steadiness, and he wished that they should pass a season in the field, under the expectation, that while they pursued his insulting enemies, and formed garrisons, they would also be fitting them-

selves for more arduous undertakings. The king also added, that these proceedings should not retard him in the formation of establishments on the coast, and that such a number of persons as the British agent deemed necessary, should be immediately placed under the orders of one of his powerful officers, if Mr. Hastie would consent to accompany the party. In conclusion, he expressed a determination to make a good road to any place that might be fixed upon for a commercial establishment.

Mr. Hastie replied, that any establishment formed must be entirely under the king's orders, and governed by his own officers; but that he had not any objection to accompany the party, and afford all the assistance he was capable of to the officer charged with the command. It was then strongly recommended by the British agent that volunteer settlers should be encouraged, that no monopoly should be sanctioned, and that every person who proceeded on the enterprise, should leave Imerina laden with seeds and plants, and agricultural implements, and that a small military guard should accompany the party for its security.

A situation eligible for forming the first establishment, then became the subject of discussion, and it was decided that Foule Point, a place well adapted for shipping, and to which an easy communication might be effected through the Antsianaka district should be occupied.

On the following day, the 17th of June, the examination of the schools took place; and about three o'clock, agreeably to Mr. Hastie's proposal, the king in his state dress accompanied by his brother-in-law Prince Rataffe and the British agent, came to the school for that purpose. The school belonging to Mr. Jones was first examined in reading, spelling, writing, and in the first rules of arithmetic. The needle-work of the girls was also exhibited. The company

then adjourned to the house of Mr. Griffiths, where the children went through a similar process. The total number in both schools was eighty-five. After the examination was concluded, the king and the Prince Rataffe expressed themselves pleased with the progress already made by the scholars.

On the 18th of June, the king informed Mr. Hastie that the necessary arrangements were made for forming a commercial establishment at Foule Point; that two thousand labourers, and a guard of one hundred soldiers, were under orders to proceed to that place under the command of the Prince Rafaralahy, to whom a supply of money, cattle, and cloth was delivered, to purchase subsistence for the party, or such articles as might be required for the establishment.

The 19th being the eve of the annual festival, several fires were lighted at every village in the district, so that soon after sunset a general illumination prevailed over the country, and all was festivity and gladness in the capital, where the customary formalities were observed.

After going through the usual ceremonies on the following day, and performing the sacrifice at the capital, Radama departed in state for Ambohimanga, the burial-place of his father, where the observances were repeated previous to his returning at noon the same day. He was attended by his nobles and officers, and spent the evening with his European friends. During the course of conversation, he evinced an ardent desire that his newly-projected commercial enterprise might be attended with success, as such an event would enable him to observe all the instructions he had received from his excellency Governor Farquhar, whom he regarded with filial respect. He frequently reverted to the attentions and improvements he had already effected by his excellency's advice, and of which he declared himself

fully convinced that they tended to the general advantage of his country. Attending to the progress made by the children under the care of the Missionaries, he expressed much satisfaction, and gave fresh assurances of his readiness to co-operate in any measures pointed out by the governor of Mauritius.

The war with the Sakalavas was now about to be renewed, and Radama took the field with his 13,000 disciplined troops, having about 7,000 persons as bearers of baggage and provisions. In a short time, news reached the capital that he had been victorious, that a few of the Hovas had been killed, and some wounded, but that of the enemy there had been great destruction, with the seizure of vast quantities of booty.

It appeared that on Radama's arriving in the country of the Sakalavas, he had sent a kabary to the chiefs, announcing his arrival, and stating that he had come to punish them for their past insults; adding, that if they were disposed to submit peaceably, and acknowledge him as their sovereign, he would overlook the past, and grant them the same privileges as his other subjects enjoyed; but should they reject his terms, he would teach them who was master.

To this message they replied boldly, "Tell Radama, we know he has powder, so have we; he has fire-arms, so have we. Radama has his own to seek, and we have ours; let him prepare well, and come up, and take our village if he can."

This village, the access to which is extremely difficult, is called Ambohidongy, (the village of the sulky.) It is situated on the confines of the Menabé and Betsileo countries, and is built on a rock well fortified, with but one path conducting to it. The inhabitants defended themselves with much bravery, hurling down immense fragments

of stone, by which many of the soldiers were killed, and at the same using their guns and spears with much effect.

Their brave defence, however, proved ineffectual against Radama's numerous army. Their village was captured, and many of the inhabitants put to death. Some, unable to make good their flight, put an end to their own existence rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, while others were captured, and afterwards sold into slavery. When asked why they would not be friendly with Radama, the general reply was, "Because he is the friend of the white men, and all the white men are deceivers, and therefore we never will submit to him."

Radama's expression in reference to what he had now accomplished, was, that it was mere play, in comparison with what he intended to do; and with this determination, he ordered a party of 2,000 men to go with spades and hatchets, and build a village on the spot where an engagement had taken place, over which, and the surrounding district, he appointed Rakizoarivo governor. He then set off in search of Ramitraha, king of the Sakalavas, his troops taking different routs in the pursuit.

The chief of the Sakalavas, probably somewhat intimidated by the accounts he heard of Radama's successful progress, deemed it most prudent to enter into such stipulations with the enemy as would be likely to terminate more favourably than any resistance he was able to make. He therefore proposed that the king of the Hovas should enter into an alliance of marriage with his daughter, at the same time that he agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Radama; which terms being agreed to, the war was at last terminated, and the marriage celebrated without delay.

A village having been erected on the spot where the

marriage was celebrated, to perpetuate its memory, Radama set out with his consort, accompanied by his three hundred attendants, and entered his capital in January 1822.

On their arrival at Ambani-ala, a few miles from Tananarivo, the people from all parts of the country came to salute their sovereigns, bringing presents of their produce. He told them, he was delighted with their diligence in the cultivation of the soil, and that they had been favoured with such abundant produce. "See," said he, "the difference between this year and the last. Then the people all went to the war, none were left at home to cultivate the ground, and after all we were not victorious; but this year with one army we have subdued our enemies, and now on returning home we find plenty of provisions."

From this spot Radama wrote to the Missionaries, to thank them for their remembrance of him; and to the British agent, to tell him that he and his new consort would come and dine with him at Besakana, on the afternoon of his arrival at the capital. To this Mr. Hastie replied, that he should with the greatest pleasure receive the royal party, if Radama would consent to regard Rasalimo as his only wife, for since he, Mr. Hastie, could acknowledge but one king of Madagascar, so he could acknowledge no more than one queen. To this there was no objection made on the part of the king; and accordingly, on their arrival at the capital, the party repaired to the house of the British agent, where the nuptials were again celebrated.

Radama was welcomed with every demonstration of affectionate loyalty. He alighted on the holy stone, and mounted the temporary stage as usual, where he received the congratulations of the people and their hasina. He then proceeded to his palace in a carriage which had been sent him from Mauritius, accompanied by his queen; the way

being guarded by two lines of troops, extending from Andohalo, where the kabary had been held, up to the very gate of the palace. The procession passed under three triumphal arches erected for the occasion, and covered with cloth and a profusion of flowers and branches of trees.

The representatives of Ramitraha, who had accompanied the queen, delivered their addresses of allegiance and friendship in the public kabary, much to the satisfaction of Radama, the judges, the officers, and the body of the people, all parties appearing well pleased with this termination of a war, which had been so long protracted, and attended with so vast an expenditure of life. In the union now formed between the monarch and the daughter of Ramitraha, a pledge was acknowledged of future and permanent peace.

Ramitraha's ministers were treated with great respect during their residence at the capital. They were taken to see whatever was new and curious, especially what had been introduced by European artisans, such as the loom for weaving, and the forge. The frame of the chapel, then erecting, was to them an astonishing work, by far the largest building they had ever seen.

On their return to their own country, they were laden with presents for their sovereign, amongst which were two horses, cloth of all descriptions, native and foreign, some pieces of gold, a small box of dollars, and a silver chain. Radama sent with them also several carpenters and smiths with their tools, to aid in the erection of a better house for their chief. Various seeds and plants were also given them, which it was afterwards found they had very unceremoniously and unscientifically thrown away upon the road, remarking, "What good are seeds and plants to us? we have plenty in our own country."

CHAP. XI.

Death of Mr. Brooks, one of the missionary artisans—Appointment of a burial-place for Europeans—Establishment of a school by Mr. Jeffreys—Fatal effects of the suspicions of the people respecting their children—Proclamation of the king's mother—Formation of a Christian church at Tananarivo—Tour of the Missionaries among the villages of Imerina—Progress of the settlement at Foule Point—Assemblage of the chieftains from the northern provinces—Their acknowledgment of Radama's supremacy—Return of the king from the campaign against the Sakalavas—Public assembly of the people—Speech of the king—Attention to agriculture recommended by Mr. Hastie—Improvement and cleanliness of the capital—Reforms in the customs of the people relating to funerals—Infanticide prohibited—Prosperity of the establishment at Foule Point—Introduction of the Roman letters, to express the sounds of the native language—Radama's visit to Tamatave—His intercourse with Captain Moorsom, of his majesty's ship Ariadne—Visit of the king to the vessel—Presentation of a Bible by Captain Moorsom—Voyage of the king on board the frigate to Antongil Bay—Defeat of part of the king's troops; their punishment, and restitution made to the Sakalavas.

THE arrival at the capital of the Rev. Mr. Jeffreys and the artisans who accompanied Prince Rataffe on his return from England, has been already noticed. They were encouraged by Radama and the Missionaries already in the island, and cherished the pleasing expectation of aiding in the improvements of the Malagasy by introducing a knowledge of their respective trades, the working in iron, the tanning and currying leather, and the improving of the arts of spinning and weaving silk, flax, and cotton. The feelings of gladness with which the arrangements for commencing their labours had been made, were soon mingled with sadness on account of the comparatively sudden removal by death of one of their number, Mr. Brooks,

who died after a short illness, on the 24th of June, ten days after his arrival at the capital.

During his illness he was carefully attended by the different members of the Mission, and by Mr. Hastie, whose medical aid in treating the Malagasy fever was highly valuable. The climate rendered immediate preparations for the interment necessary; and as the king had already left the capital, application was made to the judges for a spot of ground which might be regarded as a burial-place for the Mission. A wish had been expressed that the remains of Mr. Brooks should be interred within the space of ground appropriated to the artisans; but as the judges were of opinion this was too near the king's rice-grounds another spot was selected by them at a short distance. For this they refused to accept any payment, and desired the Missionaries to take as much as they deemed suitable. The ground was afterwards enclosed, and here the remains of those members of the Mission who have died at the capital repose in hope of the resurrection of the just.

On the 25th the remains of Mr. Brooks were committed to the grave. All the members of the Mission attended, and the children of the school, the French and Creole artisans, and the gentlemen from Germany, whom the pursuits of science had brought to the capital. Great numbers of the natives were also present; they appeared much impressed with the scene, and manifested a general and affectionate sympathy with the survivors on the melancholy occasion.

The consent of the king having been obtained for pupils to be taught by the newly-arrived Missionary, Mr. Jeffreys commenced a school on the 25th of June with twelve children. The readiness of the Malagasy youths to receive instruction was always a source of encouragement to the

Missionaries, and formed no small part of the pleasure they experienced in their work. A considerable part of the stimulus operating on the minds of the scholars arose, no doubt, from their desire to please the king; what the sovereign directed to be done, having been engaged in with alacrity and energy. Besides this, the taratasy—learning to read and write—carried with it all the charm of novelty, and thus both operated favourably in promoting that degree of proficiency which afforded so much satisfaction to their teachers.

It could, however, scarcely be expected that some jealousies should not be created in the minds of the natives generally, during these new, and to them somewhat incomprehensible, proceedings. They well knew that the white people, who had previously visited the capital, had come to purchase their countrymen; that by their means their children and relations had been taken away, and sold into slavery; and they were still jealous of the strangers at the capital, though, as themselves were witnesses, engaged in the benevolent employment of teaching their offspring under the public and avowed sanction of the king. It was not long after Mr. Jeffreys had formed his school, that whispers and murmurs were heard, tending to convey suspicion of the Missionaries being leagued with Radama to obtain their children, under pretence of instructing them, but ultimately selling them into slavery; and in this suspicion they fancied they were supported by the fact, that Prince Rataffe had returned from England, and had not brought back with him the Malagasy youths. Instead of their coming back, more white people had arrived, and how many more might come they could not tell. Their suspicions soon grew into the most anxious fears; and parental affection, under a somewhat extraordinary form,

proved fatal to several children by the strange and cruelly mistaken measures employed to conceal them, and thus prevent them being placed in the schools. Many parents residing in the neighbourhood of the capital actually hid their children in their rice-holes, where several of them died, suffocated by the heated and confined air of those subterraneous granaries.

To arrest the progress of these suspicions, which threatened to destroy the infant Mission by exciting the strongest prejudices against its agents and its objects, the most prompt and decisive measures were required. Radama was at that time prosecuting the war in the Sakalava country; but his mother, a woman of considerable energy and independence of mind, and who maintained some degree of authority in the absence of her son, sent a kabary to the people, to be published in all the markets, announcing that any person who should be convicted of raising false reports respecting the white people or the king, should be reduced to slavery; and that whoever should be found guilty of concealing children in the rice-holes, and thereby causing their death, should be put to death for the offence. "Cease therefore at once," said Rambolamasoandro, "from all such practices, for it is the instruction of your children here, and not sending them into another country, that is the wish and intention of Radama your king."

This spirited and well-timed message had its desired effect. Confidence appeared to be restored, and the concealment of children was not afterwards heard of.

In the course of July, 1822, the people of the whole district of Ayaradrano came with timber from the forest for erecting the house and school for Mr. Griffiths, as already mentioned, and five similar journeys were performed before the building was completed. The frame was

finished by the time the king returned from the war, and, being the largest ever erected in the capital, it excited much interest and surprise amongst the natives.

About this time a circumstance occurred, tending to illustrate to the Missionaries some of the peculiarities of the people among whom they were placed, and demonstrating the importance of the countenance and support of the monarch in this early stage of the Mission.

The mother of Radama sent to Mr. Jones's school a young princess; and Mr. Jones remarked, that it might be well for her to wait until a few others could be found to unite with her, and form a class. Some children of the school having overheard this, began a canvass of their own accord in the town, endeavouring to bring others to be associated with the young princess. The parents, however, resented this interference, warmly resisted the efforts of their juvenile visitors, and, rudely threatening to stone them for their unauthorised meddling, went to lay their complaint before the judges.

The judges came to Mr. Jones, demanding to know why he suffered his scholars to go about disturbing the town while the king was absent, and stating that the people were exceedingly angry with him. Mr. Jones inquired into the cause of their anger, and then explained to the judges the real circumstances of the case. They appeared satisfied, and remarked, "that to endeavour to find a few to unite with the young princess at school, may be best; but it will be proper to await the king's return, lest in their displeasure the people should do some injury to the children, and then, as an excuse, to justify themselves, tell the king that their children were taken to school, and sold from thence into slavery, to be heard of no more, while, in fact, they themselves may have been guilty

of putting them into the rice-holes, and then concealing their suffocation and death by charging the Missionaries with having kidnapped them."

Whatever extravagance there might be in such proceedings on the part of the people, or in the suggestion of the judges, the circumstance showed the importance of acting with the utmost caution, and the difficulty of obviating the jealousy of the natives.

On the first Sunday in Sept., 1822, the members of the Mission, though they had been connected prior to their leaving England with different denominations of Christians, formed themselves into a holy fraternity, or church, at Tananarivo, celebrating for the first time the ordinance of the Lord's supper. This took place within the court-yard of the palace. Although the church was formed on the Congregational plan, it was arranged as a fundamental rule in the Society, that the same liberal principles of admission and communion should be adopted, which characterise the parent institution; so that Christians of other denominations, walking in the faith and purity of the gospel, who might afterwards visit or reside on the spot, should feel themselves welcome to a participation of the privileges which the fellowship now formed was designed to secure.

During the absence of Radama from the capital, the Missionaries continued to enjoy the friendly protection of his mother; this was the more important to their safety and comfort, as in her person the supreme authority was then vested. On one occasion she invited them to an entertainment at her country residence, where she was superintending the erection of an embankment, to prevent the rice-grounds being overflowed. She conducted her visitors to see this work, on which nearly five thousand persons were employed, and having received and returned the

salutations of the labourers, she recommended the division of the labour into equal portions amongst the people, as the best mode of facilitating its completion.

Towards the end of September, Mr. Jones, Mr. Griffiths, and Mr. Canham made a tour westward of the capital to the distance of about seventy miles, taking twelve of the most advanced among the scholars with them. The excursion was intended to aid them in the acquirement of the language, and to increase their knowledge of the manners, customs, and morals of the people, together with the produce of their soil, and their methods of cultivating the ground.

The pleasure derived by the party from travelling in many parts of their journey through highly picturesque and luxuriant scenery, was somewhat lessened by the absence of all domestic comfort in the habitations in which they sought repose. At the village where they first halted, the chiefs presented for their use a great variety of provisions, begging, in the name of the king's mother, and in that of the inhabitants, that their offerings might be accepted. A long conversation on different topics then ensued, after which, when they lay down to rest upon the matted floor, the singing and dancing of the villagers continued through the whole moonlight night, effectually prevented the repose of which they were so much in need.

At some of the places where they stopped, their sleep was disturbed by sounds much less harmonious, and circumstances even less congenial,—the habitations being occupied by calves, pigs, and sheep, as well as the family of their host, all equal in point of cleanliness.

After passing near Ambohitrambo, a high sugar-loaf mountain, they proceeded to the famous iron district of Ambatolehivy, and to the village of the same name. The latter contains about seventy or eighty houses, and is sur-

rounded by deep fosses, in which the vine is extensively cultivated. The iron in all this neighbourhood reaches even to the surface of the ground, and gives in some places the appearance of iron to the rocks.

On arriving at Imonombola, the travellers observed a number of smiths employed in the manufacture of bayonets for the government, and about the close of the same day, they met immense droves of cattle brought from the war, in which they had been taken as booty. At no great distance from this place, they were met by an elderly man, who begged of them to turn back to his village, and partake of some refreshment. This being a singular instance of hospitality, and offered at a suitable time of day for resting, they accepted the invitation, and accompanied the old man to his house. Mats were spread for them, and a present brought of ducks, fowls, a pig, and some rice; and that nothing might be wanting for the immediate entertainment of his visitors, the hospitable host actually *chopped up his bedstead* to provide fuel for the cooking. He expressed great joy in their having accepted his invitation, remarking, that he wished to honour those whom Radama honoured, and to respect and love those whom Radama respected. On thanking him for his hospitality, and presenting him with a few yards of white cloth, he was so delighted that he leaped and danced with ecstasy, calling on heaven, and earth, the sun, and moon, and all above and all below—god and the king—to bless them, and give them the desire of their hearts.

At the village of Tserifareny, where they were hospitably received by the inhabitants, they rested for the night. In the course of the evening, a number of female singers placed themselves near the house, and interested the party by singing some of their native songs. The softness

and harmony of their voices exceeded any thing of the kind they had before heard in the island, and excited a wish that ere long the same voices might be employed in singing the praises of the true God.

On the thirtieth of the month, the travellers returned to their homes, gratified with their excursion, happy to find their families well, and the Mission prospering. During the course of their journey, they had endeavoured to interest and benefit the people by putting such questions to them as were most likely to draw forth their opinions on subjects of the greatest importance, and directing their attention, as far as they were able, to clearer and more enlightened views.

While the Missionaries pursued their quiet occupations at the capital, Mr. Hastie was no less attentive to that peculiar line of duty committed to his charge. When the party under the direction of Prince Rafaralahy reached the Antsianaka district, on their way to Foule Point, a great assembly of the people was convened, for the purpose of making them acquainted with the object of the detachment in passing through their country, as well as to request that they would repair to the place of its destination with any provision or merchandise they had for sale; and that they would furnish such seeds and plants as their country produced, for which just payment was promised. After this, the commands of the king for the suppression of marauding and plundering, were published to the company assembled, the whole number of persons amounting to about four thousand. The harangue of the prince, a native of this district, was delivered with great eloquence, and received with loud applause, the people hailing with every expression of delight, the intelligence of an expected market for their produce, and the commands of their king for the sup-

pression of petty warfare. They unanimously promised to furnish the seeds and plants required of them, and volunteered to send two hundred men to carry what they should collect; at the same time requesting that the whole party would enter their villages, and supply themselves with such provisions as they might be in need of.

These promises were strictly observed by the Antsianaka people; and besides the burdens of the two hundred volunteers which they had prepared, they brought into the camp large quantities of every article cultivated in their district; so that each individual in the detachment might take with him as much as he felt inclined to carry.

On the 6th of July the party reached Foule Point, and as soon as time had been given for an assemblage of the people from the surrounding neighbourhood, a kabary was held, at which Prince Rafaralahy, having clearly stated that the establishment was formed purely for the sake of encouraging agriculture and manufactures, and promoting the interests of the country by opening a liberal commerce, adverted to the laws of Hovah, which secured all property, and entirely suppressed both theft and trespass, all which he enjoined the party strictly to observe. He then explained, that no monopoly of trade of any description would be sanctioned; that the market for exported and imported goods, should be free to every class on their paying the established dues; and that the person who earned most, in short, who manufactured, or bought, and sold most, would best meet the approbation of his king.

To this the prince added, that as it appeared to him to be a duty incumbent upon him to endeavour to encourage the industrious, he would allot to every applicant a portion of land, to pursue such avocation as he might choose; and though it was stipulated that the whole

of the party were to labour for four months on the public account, he would require those who were disposed to begin on their own accounts, to attend only one day out of the four at the public works, which, from the present time, would allow them three-fourths of their time to labour for themselves, in erecting dwellings and forming enclosures; and he promised to supply every person who constructed a fence, with seeds and plants sufficient for the land he had thus enclosed.

Rafaralahy's address was received with applause; and the chiefs of the people replied, that their promises to the king first required that they should complete the public works, which duty performed, they would avail themselves of his offer, and apply for such situations as they might consider suitable for their purposes.

One thousand eight hundred men being now at work, the time was completely occupied by those who had the charge of them, in superintending the laying out of land for cultivation, in sowing and planting, and preparing timber for enclosures.

While these useful occupations were going on at Foule Point, Mr. Hastie went to Tamatave for the purpose of obtaining a supply of cattle and rice from the chieftains of that place. Jean René expressed great pleasure in the timely arrival of Rafaralahy at Foule Point, stating, that had the party been delayed only a few weeks, all the low country would have been in a state of warfare, a coalition having been formed in the north to attack the district governed by him. The newly-established settlement, however, afforded him so much confidence of security, that ever since their arrival, he had occupied himself at his farm without apprehension of danger.

Finding it requisite to visit Mauritius, on account of

several objects connected with the settlement at Foule Point, and having also to make arrangements for his future residence in Imerina, Mr. Hastie sailed again for Port Louis on the 4th of August, 1822.

On the 5th of September, Mr. Hastie returned to Foule Point, where he found the different parts of the establishment greatly improved in appearance, the chief part of the people employed in agriculture, and the advanced state of vegetation adorning the settlement.

It had been frequently reported to Rafaralahy, that Sasse, the former chieftain of Foule Point, who had long been expelled from the district by his compatriots, in consequence of his deceitful and tyrannical conduct, was, at the instigation of Mons. Roux, the French agent at Saint Mary's, busily employed amongst the chieftains residing north of the Manongoro river, in endeavouring to unite them in rebellion against Radama, and inducing them treacherously to attack the establishment at Foule Point. To prevent this, an embassy of ten persons was despatched to the chieftains alluded to, to ascertain their feelings towards the king, and to require all who were inclined to acknowledge Radama, to visit the establishment, and take the oath of fealty.

In about a fortnight the embassy returned, accompanied by Sasse and many of the petty chieftains. In full kabary they were addressed by Rafaralahy, who declared to the assembly what were the views of the king in forming the establishment at Foule Point; dwelling, particularly, upon Radama's determination to suppress all petty wars, and the marauding system which had so long prevailed. He then stated, that it was always in his power to exact obedience; but that his object was to induce his compatriots to a voluntary observance of the king's laws; and as the marauder or

assassin could expect no mercy at his hands, he thought it necessary to invite Sasse and the chieftains of the north to the assembly, that they might be fully acquainted with the disposition of Radama.

An aged chieftain, who it appeared had long acknowledged the supremacy of the Hovas, then rose, and described, at length, the horrors of petty wars; adverting to many instances still fresh in the memory of a great part of the assembly, where their individual families had suffered; and he called upon Sasse to bear his own case in mind, and reflect that but a short period had elapsed since his son, who was found in slavery in the Sakalava country, had been restored to him by Radama; a favour which, if duly valued, must induce him not to hesitate in offering the most solemn assurance of allegiance to his benefactor.

Sasse, whose countenance was strongly marked by the impress of every evil passion, remained the whole time with his eyes fixed on the ground. He said but a few words, declaring that reports of Rafaralahy's hostility towards him had alone deterred him from offering his allegiance; that he was now happy in having an opportunity of acknowledging Radama's supremacy. At the same time he artfully evaded answering the questions put to him relative to his connexion with the French agent at St. Mary's.

The other chieftains having expressed themselves in submissive terms, the ceremony of allegiance was entered into by the whole of the party, agreeable to the usual form, the governor of Foule Point loudly exhorting them to a strict observance of the covenant.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Hastie returned to the capital, where he was attacked with the Malagasy fever, and so reduced by the frequent relapses which he suffered, as to find great difficulty in attending to the various duties

devolving upon him on the return of the king from the war with the Sakalavas.

This event took place on the 23d of January, 1823, when all the chieftains acknowledging allegiance to Radama, and a multitude of people, were assembled to receive him at the capital. The king related to the people, in kabary, the chief circumstances attending his expedition. He told them of the marriage he had formed with the only child of Ramitraha, for the purpose of insuring peace to his subjects, and thus enabling them to cultivate the arts which he had introduced among them. This he recommended in the strongest terms; declaring industry to be a source whence all their wants might be satisfied. He stated to them, that the proofs he had witnessed of the valour of his soldiers enabled him to assure them, that disciplined men, alone, could be depended upon as the guardians of a country, and that he looked to them, the cultivators of the soil, for the means of supporting a regular army, which should enable him to guarantee their security whilst they pursued their peaceable occupations.

The aged chieftains addressed the king in the highest terms of loyalty, expressing their entire approbation of all his proceedings, and their readiness to furnish the supplies he should require for the support of a regular army; after which they took the opportunity, individually, to return thanks to the troops for their able conduct in the war.

On the conclusion of these addresses, the usual formality of presenting the hasina, or tribute, to the king commenced, when several hundred dollars cut in pieces, besides a greater number uncut, were presented.

The chieftains were reassembled on the following day, when the king again addressed them respecting the immediate necessity there was for their application to husbandry

and manufactures, as the only means by which the nation could be improved, and their wants satisfied. He spoke largely on the subject, and concluded by saying, "Surely you will exert yourselves to raise your children from a level with Caffres. We must no longer be classed with the Mozambiques. Our friends declare that we were not born to be slaves."

He then ordered some wheat, oats, and grain, with a large quantity of mulberry-cuttings, to be distributed amongst the chieftains, exhorting them to use their utmost endeavours in the cultivation of each, and promising a premium to the district which should excel.

The chieftains expressed much satisfaction on receiving the seeds, and declared their willingness to observe the king's instructions. After which, agreeably to the custom of the country, they commenced betting, or laying wagers with each other, on the success of their particular modes of multiplying these articles, and the assembly broke up amidst shouts of thanks to the king.

It has been already stated, that it had long been a custom with the chieftains of the Hovas, to allow persons who had rendered any important service to their ancestors, or to the state at large, to claim exemption from punishment, in case of such individuals transgressing the laws. Nor was this immunity confined to single individuals, but extended to every member of their family, as well as to their descendants. Persons thus exempted were so numerous, and petty thefts consequently so common, that a great portion of the population of Imerina, indulging their natural indolence, might be said to live by practices of petty theft. The evils arising from this circumstance having been represented to the king, and a statement made to him that the abolition of such usages, with the honourable recompense of deserving men, would tend to his own glory, and

was in fact a duty that he owed to his people, who would derive satisfaction from such a law, from which none but the worthless could dissent; he was urged to issue a law on the subject. The king had long seen the evils of the practice complained of, had taken some measures to convince the chiefs of their injurious operation, and now issued orders for the suppression of these abuses.

Radama in pointed language expressed his thanks to all his subjects for their willing and uniform observance of his laws, declaring his readiness to honour with marks of approbation or otherwise remunerate, any person of merit; though at the same time he told them that he could no longer permit acts of valour performed either by themselves or their ancestors to be a screen to any class who evaded the laws, as such a system was equally disgraceful and injurious to the sovereign and the subject. He confirmed the present laws, which declare a theft of any property amounting in value to more than a fowl, or the twenty-fourth part of a dollar, should subject the perpetrator to a public trial; he enacted that all common thefts should subject the perpetrators to work such a number of days on the public roads as the police officers of the district where the theft was committed should adjudge; and he positively commanded that the police of every district should furnish rations to every person voluntarily offering to labour on the public works, by which means he removed the possibility of any person committing a theft merely to satisfy the wants of nature.

Whenever advice had been offered to the natives of Imerina to induce them to cultivate habits of industry, they usually replied, that they did not labour under any particular wants, as they were not permitted to wear jewellery, nor clothes except of a certain description; such as

they had, with their subsistence, being obtained without much exertion. It having also been ascertained, that the restriction from eating pork had not originated in the observance of any religious prohibitions, but in the command of the king's ancestors, it was supposed that the discontinuance of these restraints would be advantageous in promoting commerce and industry, and a representation to that effect was consequently made to the king, which ultimately proved successful.

Radama, however, did not appear disposed to grant his subjects the favours required of him, without their, also, making some concessions; and the chieftains having agreed to his demands on behalf of the army, little was left him to ask. Taking advantage of these circumstances, the British agent deemed it a fair opportunity for urging him to adopt more energetic measures for promoting industry, and particularly for improving the present public roads, and making new ones.

A kabary on the subject was accordingly published, and the restrictions upon food and dress abolished. As it appeared necessary, however, that some mark of distinction should still exist, it was enacted, that no persons not of noble blood should wear either gold or coral in their hair. The king, taking the opportunity of again recommending agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, made a new law, by which any person found to pass two or more successive days in idleness, should be compelled to work a similar number of days on the roads.

The tumult of joy on publishing the message for taking off the restrictions, exceeded every thing that had been witnessed in Imerina since the abolition of the slave-trade. The shouts of exultation and gratitude were so violent and continued, that the ministers could not, for the space of two

hours, obtain silence, to publish some other orders about building bridges; and, on the dispersion of the assembly, the buzz of joyful expression and of thanks to Radama were continued in every direction.

The want of cleanliness at the capital, in the public streets and thoroughfares, was also another subject urgently demanding the attention of the king. Indeed, to this cause might, in a great measure, be attributed the sufferings of a considerable portion of the population, many of whom were afflicted with loathsome and painful diseases. This subject was therefore laid before Radama by the active and persevering agent, and orders were consequently issued for keeping the capital in a clean and healthy state; and such were the penalties to which the disobedient were subjected, that from being as filthy a town as any in the eastern hemisphere, it soon became, in regard to cleanliness, a pattern for the rest of the kingdom.

It was a subject of sincere regret to all concerned for the improvement of the social state of the people, and Radama's government, that many persons, endeavouring to make a display of respect for deceased relatives, often contracted debts in purchasing valuable clothes and ornaments to throw into the graves of the departed, agreeably to ancient usage; and several instances occurred, where individuals had been reduced to slavery on account of their inability to discharge the debts thus created. Thus the dead had been enveloped in rich clothing, covered with ornaments, and surrounded with silver, whilst the nearest living relatives were by these means reduced to the lowest state of degradation. It was, however, a subject of still more serious concern, to observe that the custom of putting to death children born on a certain day of the year, was still continued; while both aged persons, and those in the prime of life,

were constantly falling victims to the tangena, or trial by poison.

Mr. Hastie therefore believed it to be his duty to make respectful representations to Radama on these subjects, and to press them on his attention as often as opportunity allowed. To all his representations the king granted a patient hearing, and each renewal of the conversation afforded hope of being able at last to carry conviction to his mind. The period, however, was fast approaching for this enlightened and active individual to withdraw, for a time, from the scene of his philanthropic exertions, and his proposed departure from the capital was made use of as a plea for urging the king to give more prompt attention to these important subjects.

Before Mr. Hastie left, he had the satisfaction of knowing, that all future debts contracted in obtaining articles to bury with the dead were declared to be unlawful, and consequently not recoverable. And on the subject of putting children to death, he had the unspeakable satisfaction of hearing it pronounced murder, except only in one district, about which there seemed to be some difficulty, though the king promised to abolish the exception as early as possible. The grounds on which the king prohibited the murder of infants, have been already stated in connexion with the practice and abolition of infanticide.

The above exception appears to have arisen from the following circumstances:—During the time when Imerina was governed by many chieftains, and the father of Radama was only commencing his successful career, the conquest of the Imamo district became an object that he was very desirous to accomplish, and he was successful in many incursions made into that province. The chieftains and people of Imamo frequently repulsed the enemy, and

the conquest was still doubtful, when Andrian Dremaro offered terms of alliance, which, being favourable to the Hovas, were finally agreed to; and one of the most important articles of the compact was, that his unlucky day, which was not on the same as the king's, should not be altered; as it had been foretold by many augurs, that when children born on that day should be permitted to live, the chieftain would certainly die. The solemn oaths of alliance were entered into on these conditions; and Radama thought it necessary to obtain the old chieftain's consent, if possible, before abolishing the custom. He pledged his word, however, that it should be abolished, and stated his willingness to make such restitution as the chief might require. In the mean time, the mothers were invited to leave the district until the affair should be concluded.

Although the British agent had the unspeakable gratification of seeing these subjects of deep importance brought to a favourable conclusion, there still remained the most cruelly fatal of all—the trial by poison, over which his influence seemed to have no power. By this custom, he states, that he had for years known Imerina to be annually deprived of hundreds of its inhabitants; and yet, he adds, "such is the prejudice of the natives, that not a sigh escapes them for the sufferings of the nearest and dearest connexions, when their lives are subjected to this ordeal." Still Mr. Hastie despaired not of inducing the king to put a stop to the destruction resulting from this barbarous usage, Radama being thoroughly convinced of the fallacy of the test, and only wanting a sufficiently powerful reason to persuade the people to agree to its abolition. Were he to prohibit the use of it, he said, the people would exclaim, "What, will Radama no longer permit the administration of justice?" But still his determination that it should not

long exist remained unshaken, and Mr. Hastie left him with the cheering hope that his own benevolent and persevering efforts for the good of the king and the people would not prove ineffectual.

Before leaving the country, Mr. Hastie visited Foule Point, where he found the establishment in a prosperous state. The chief informed him, that although his harvest had been severely injured by wild boars, the crops had been productive; the old inhabitants of the coast, enjoying security from marauders, appeared well satisfied, and the utmost tranquillity prevailed throughout the province.

The affairs of the Mission at the capital continued to wear much the same aspect for several months, when, on the return of the king in January, 1823, the schools were visited by some of the principal people of the Sakalava district, who had accompanied Radama to Tananarivo after his marriage with the daughter of their chieftain. Bano and Ramarofahitra, who were delighted with what they saw of the mode of instruction and the progress of the scholars, promised to bring some of their own children with them when they next came to Tananarivo on a visit to the queen. That favourable occasion, however, was not destined to arrive, as an insurrection sometime afterwards took place in their country, when they were put to death by their countrymen for adhering to the cause of Radama.

In the course of March this year, some attempts were made, though the medium of Mr. Hastie, to obtain an increase in the number of the scholars, and he employed his influence with the king to effect this object. The measure, however, could not be carried at that time; but the king's ministers stated, that if any of the Missionaries would go to Alasora, a village a few miles distant from the capital, scholars might be obtained there. It was then

proposed to extend the plan of education to some neighbouring towns; but this also was found, on endeavouring to mature it, to be altogether impracticable.

About this time some important arrangements were made respecting the orthography of the language. It was decided by the king, that the English consonants and the French vowels should be employed; and thus, with the exception of some alterations afterwards made, and sanctioned by the king, the mode of reducing the Malagasy language to writing was determined. In connexion with this subject, a circumstance is related by Captain Moorsom, which appears too characteristic of Radama, in his royal pupilage, to be omitted. After Mr. Hastie had begun to teach him English orthography, he placed himself, in the absence of that gentleman from the capital, under the tuition of a French master; but becoming confused with the different sounds of the letters, he used a somewhat enviable prerogative, and made a law, that throughout his whole kingdom each letter should have but one sound.

During the month of April another school of a different description was formed within the court-yard of the palace, and though it had no connexion with the Mission, yet, as promoting the work of education in the country, it proved that the king was anxious to facilitate the improvement of his people by every means in his power. This school, containing about three hundred scholars, consisted of the officers of the army and their wives, and was placed under the immediate superintendence of Mons. Robin, the king's secretary, whose life presented a scene almost as chequered as that of Benyowsky.

It is not impossible that the mind of Radama received some stimulus to the promotion of this object, from a remark made to him some time before, that there was no

nation, except the Malagasy and the Mozambiques, who could not read and write; and this observation, so little flattering to the high-spirited Hovas, led to a strong determination no longer to be placed on a level with those who were considered by them as lowest of all, and treated as the slaves or servants of all. The king's reply on the occasion was truly characteristic and worthy of himself, "Then I would rather not be king at all, than be king of such barbarians."

In the month of September, Messrs. Jones, Griffiths, and Canham, accompanied by some of their scholars, made the tour of four provinces, with a view of ascertaining the most eligible situations for schools, and with the hope of being able to preach the gospel to the natives. After an absence of about a month, they returned home, having obtained a sufficient knowledge of the disposition and circumstances of the people, to feel the importance and eligibility of endeavouring to extend the benefits of education in the country around the capital.

In the month of December 1823, Mr. Griffiths house was in a sufficient state of forwardness to permit him to enter it; and on the last Sunday in the year, divine service was held for the first time in the chapel, morning and evening.

In June, 1823, Mr. Hastie had returned from Port Louis with the band of musicians who had been instructed there; and Radama, who was about to set out on a tour of observation along the coast, met his friend and the company of young men at Ambohibohazo. The governor of Mauritius had recently touched at Tamatave on his way to England, with the hope of seeing Radama, who was equally anxious to meet the benefactor of his country. This meeting would most probably have been effected, had not Radama been detained at Tananarivo by the approaching annual festival,

His remark on the occasion had been, "If I leave home before the feast, the people will say I have more regard for foreigners than for my own subjects." And, therefore, ever watchful as he was over his influence with the people, he determined to risk the loss of his own gratification, for the certainty of holding firmly the reins of government at home.

Immediately after the festival, Radama had hastened to the coast, but received by the way the mortifying intelligence, that Sir Robert had touched at Tamatave, and was gone. "Then it is too late," exclaimed Radama, "and I shall never see my friend!"

Mr. Hastie accompanied the king to Tamatave, where he made his final arrangements with Jean René. Radama then proceeded to Mahavelona, and had at Foule Point an interview with Captain Moorsom, who was then at that port in command of the Ariadne.

The behaviour of the king on this occasion, with the subjects of conversation pressed upon his attention, are so characteristic on one side, and so highly creditable on the other, that both may be with propriety described pretty nearly in Captain Moorsom's own words, especially as they present a simple but graphic picture of the person and character of a prince, who, to borrow the expression of the captain, "was adorned with qualities as much beyond his situation in the then existing circumstances of his country, as any monarch of whom we have record." "In his individual character," observes Captain Moorsom, "it is probable he approaches nearest to that of Peter the Great."

Radama is described by the same writer as being short and slender, and, though at that time thirty years old, as not appearing more than twenty, with a boyish aspect and demeanour. On the occasion of his first interview, Captain

Moorsom, accompanied by his officers and marines, went on shore to meet the king; and Mr. Hastie, having lent him a horse, they drew up in an open space a short distance from the house of Rafahalahy. The king's advanced guard soon appeared, and lined the road on each side; next followed his grenadiers, consisting of one thousand five hundred men, all armed and equipped as English soldiers; having at their head, Radama's adjutant-general: these troops, with their band, marched between the lines in open column, and presented arms as they passed; next came the generals and nobles, and then Radama, mounted on an Arabian steed, and dressed in the uniform of an English field-officer of engineers, with a cap fitting close to the head, made of crimson velvet, variously ornamented; his boots were of the same; and over his head a small silk canopy was carried by an attendant. A number of irregular troops, clad in the costume of the country, but armed with firelocks, closed the procession. "When the king," says Captain Moorsom, "came within sixty yards of where I stood, I advanced; and when I had passed through his guards, he drew up, and we shook hands. I expressed in French my pleasure in meeting him, and took my station on his right, with Mr. Hastie on his left, while the officers of my guard filed round to the rear, and in this manner we proceeded to Rafaralahy's house. When Radama dismounted in the court, the prince and his wives, one of whom was sister to the king, threw themselves at their sovereign's feet, and kissed his boots. He endeavoured to prevent this customary salutation, which he had recently prohibited. After the exchange of a few civilities, accompanied by mutual invitations given and accepted, the party separated for a time, and met again at the dinner-table. Here the king, after giving the health of King George,

made a speech, abounding in metaphor, the substance of which was addressed to his nobles. "You hail me as your chief," said he, "I acknowledge you as my officers. You look to me as a wide-spreading tree, whose leaves will shade, whose branches cover you: it is not to me you should look, it is to the King of England, the root of this tree!"

In reply to the toast, Captain Moorsom said in French, that he felt happy to have the health of his sovereign drank in such a manner by a monarch who seemed to study the welfare and prosperity of his people; that it was the will of the king of England that all his officers should endeavour to promote the happiness of the people of Madagascar, and therefore he begged to drink the prosperity and civilization of Madagascar. The king then gave the navy of England; and the captain returned the compliment by the future navy of Madagascar, accompanying the toast with some appropriate remarks upon the great national advantages of commerce: to which the king replied, with evident pleasure, "When you drink my health, I am gratified, and can thank you; but when you drink the happiness of my people, I feel as unable adequately to express my feelings, as I am incapable of uttering the sound of all their voices." He then remarked, in reference to toasts, "that the sentiments were not expressed in order that wine might be drank, but that, under pleasurable excitements, the heart dictated utterance to the mouth."

In the conversation which followed, Captain Moorsom endeavoured to impress still further upon the mind of the king, the importance of commerce in raising the national character of his people. He also used every argument to convince him that neither commerce, nor any other means of national prosperity, could be maintained, without the cessation of intestine wars, and the depredations of tribe

against tribe. To all which the king listened attentively, and replied with his wonted shrewdness and good sense.

On the 11th, the king dined on board the frigate, some of the English officers being left on shore as hostages. He had some trouble to satisfy his people about his safety, the French having spread a report that the English, who were in the practice of inviting the chiefs on board their ships, and carrying them off, wanted to entrap him. His own determination, however, silenced all remonstrances; but still the vessel was watched with jealousy by the people on shore, who shouted, whenever they perceived the least motion, "There now, he is off. The king is gone."

He was accompanied on board by Ramanetaka, by another prince of his own family, and by Mr. Hastie, with three tsirondahy or body-guard, two servants, and a serjeant's guard of grenadiers. He was evidently rather unnerved, and the rolling of the ship made him giddy; but he paid great attention to what was shewn him, unlike the generality of the curious and uninformed, being inquisitive without annoying. In the course of conversation, many things fell under his notice, which led to subjects he had never heard of; and it is remarkable that his mind, instead of being oppressed by too much of what was new and surprising, seemed only to expand under the pressure.

After dining on board the Ariadne, Radama drank the health of King George, and spoke to this effect,—that many attempts had been made to create animosity between him and the English, and to induce him to distrust them; that he felt for the king of England an attachment almost filial;* and he gave the greatest proof of his confidence in

* The king expressed this by a familiar term, equivalent to saying, "I hail him, old boy!"—and this to a monarch, who was distinguished as the most perfect gentleman in Europe!

the officers of the king, by thus placing himself on board the ship; and he desired that the sentiments he expressed might be conveyed by Captain Moorsom to his sovereign.

He left the ship with a look that plainly expressed, "How glad I am it is over!" and on reaching the shore, where the delight of his people was expressed in the usual manner by dancing and singing, accompanied by the loudest vociferations of welcome, he no sooner touched the land, than he bent one knee to the ground, exclaiming, that his mother (the earth) had permitted him to leave her for a while, and now, as a dutiful son, he saluted her on his return.

For a few days subsequent to this visit to the ship, Radama was prevented attending to any public business by an attack of illness; but as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, Captain Moorsom paid him a visit, in company with Mr. Hastie, and took the occasion of his late indisposition to congratulate him on his recovery, in a manner which tended to bring to his consideration the responsibility he owed to the Almighty Being who thus prolonged his life, and who assigned to every man his place in the creation. Captain Moorsom then laid before him two Bibles, one English and the other French, and said that, by the king's permission, he desired to present to him a book which gave the history of a man whose life was spent in doing good, and which contained an account of the religion of the English people—of that which taught them it was their duty to do good to all men, and to try to do good to Madagascar; adding, that the covering of the book was not splendid, but the inside was valuable.

The king replied, if the books contained what was straight, and not crooked, (his metaphor for truth,) he should be glad to have them; and with regard to the out-

side, he did not regard a man for the beauty of his countenance, but for the qualities of his heart. Captain Moorsom then wrote the king's name in the Bible; and it is remarkable, that the same book, after being faithfully preserved during the king's lifetime, was buried with him amongst other treasures in his splendid tomb.

In many subsequent conversations, Captain Moorsom proved himself the faithful friend of Radama, by pointing out the evils arising out of many of those national customs which the king had not yet felt himself able entirely to abolish, particularly that of trial by poison; nor was it to an indifferent or inattentive ear that these arguments were addressed. "Radama," says Captain Moorsom, "is an extraordinary man. His intellect is as much expanded beyond that of his countrymen, as that of the nineteenth century is in advance of the sixteenth. But his penetration and straightforward good-sense would make him remarkable under any circumstances. With all the impatience of a despotic monarch, exacting the most prompt and implicit obedience to his will, jealous of his authority, and instant to punish, he is yet sagacious, and cautious in altering established customs. His power is founded upon popular opinion: his game is to play the people against the chiefs, and he understands it well; for these fear, and those love him."

On leaving Foule Point, Radama took advantage of the kind offer of Captain Moorsom to convey him round the Bay of Antongil. He took with him about two hundred soldiers, while the main body of the troops proceeded by land; and while on board, his mind seemed to be much impressed with the rapidity with which he was conveyed, and the consequent *power* that was imparted. As the vessel sailed out of port, the female singers on land had

saluted the magnificent object in their usual manner—Soa, soa, Rabé, maivana. "Beautiful, beautiful! Lightly floating! Large but light! Gone is she, large, and lightly floating!"

During Radama's stay at Foule Point, a French vessel had touched there with communications for him. He, however, refused to see the embassy, or to hold any correspondence with its members, beyond telling them that he was the sovereign of the island, and that they were strangers, and had no right to a single foot of the soil. The vessel left the port threatening vengeance on Radama and his country.

Ramanetaka having been sent forward with a detachment towards Maroa, it was found that their behaviour had irritated rather than conciliated the minds of the natives, by committing depredations even upon the property of men who peaceably submitted to the claims of Radama. On the arrival of the king, captives who had been taken were liberated; relations who had been cruelly separated and sent into the interior for sale, were immediately sought for by order of the king, and restored to their homes and connexions. Some unfortunate instances, however, escaped detection, the individuals having been sent away immediately, and to a great distance.

It is stated on the unquestionable authority of Captain Moorsom, that Radama's chief object in visiting Foule Point was to put a final conclusion to an idea long entertained by the French, that they had an equal claim with Radama to the whole of the eastern coast of Madagascar. Monsieur Roux, at that time stationed at St. Mary's, had been active in bringing forward this claim; and in reply to his last communication, the king had sent word to him, that he "would talk about it." "And he now," says Captain

Moorsom, "took with him his 13,000 disciplined troops as a medium of conversation not likely to prove very satisfactory to the other party."

During his northern expedition, the king reinforced several military stations previously formed, and appointed some new posts. After advancing to the northern extremity of the island, he commenced his journey homeward by Antsianaka.

On this journey he ordered an attack to be made on the village situated on the lake Anosisaka in Antsianaka. As the rain fell in torrents at the time, the muskets of the soldiers, and some pieces of cannon they were conveying on rafts, were rendered useless in the engagement. The enemy poured down upon Radama's troops, and part of them fled, but the rest sustained the shock, and proved victorious. The leader in the flight was afterwards tried by military law, and condemned to be burned. General Brady on this occasion, actuated by motives of humanity, ventured to oppose the execution of the sentence, and proposed that the criminal should be shot. For which interference he incurred the displeasure of the king, and was dismissed from service, and held in disgrace for the space of a year. The sentence of burning was executed, and the relations of the sufferer had the melancholy satisfaction of obtaining permission to bury his ashes in the family vault.

Some time previous to this, the king had allowed a space of six months to the chiefs of Iboina, to consider whether they would voluntarily submit to him or not, under a threat that he would invade and subdue them by force, unless they acknowledged him within that period. Prince Rataffe had left the capital about the time of the king's departure for the coast, and during his march had encroached upon the terms offered by Radama to the Iboina chiefs. Before

the expiration of the period mentioned, he had attacked some of them in the north, and seized a considerable quantity of booty, consisting of men, women, and cattle. Some of his soldiers had also violated the tombs of the dead, and robbed them of the property they contained. Radama was unwilling to credit the report of such outrages; but when on investigation they were found to be true, he immediately ordered all the booty to be returned, with a present of money, cloth, and cattle, assuring the chiefs that the depredations had been committed without his orders or knowledge, by some troops who had been despatched, not to attack or injure them, but against the north of Antsianaka, and that he would still adhere to the terms he had already stated. He added, that he had sent back the very persons who had violated the tombs of their ancestors, with orders to go to those very tombs and solicit forgiveness.

In consequence of these transactions, Rataffe fell under Radama's displeasure, and for a time sunk into disgrace. He was afterwards, however, restored to favour, and obtained an appointment to the post of Mananjary.

CHAP. XII.

Return of Radama from the north-east part of the island—Establishment of a central school at the capital, and extension of education to the villages—Public examination of the scholars—General improvement of the people—Progress of agriculture on the north-east coast—Statement of views and proceedings of Governor Farquhar in favour of Madagascar—Conduct of Rafaralahy on the visit of the governor of Mauritius to Foule Point—Expedition of Radama against the Sakalavas in 1824—Pacific counsels of the British agent—Deserted state of the capital of Iboina—Interview between Mr. Hastie and the Moorish chief of Mazanga—Unsuccessful attempts to induce the latter to acknowledge Radama's supremacy—His ultimate destruction—The traffic in slaves suppressed on the western coast—Strict discipline maintained in the army of the king—Intercourse between Mr. Hastie and Andriansolo, chief of the northern Sakalavas—Radama's sovereignty acknowledged by the latter—His interview with Radama—Intercourse of the latter with Commodore Nourse—Selection of the site for Andriansolo's dwelling—Garrisons stationed in the country—Sickness in the army—Intercourse with a celebrated sorceress—Her destruction by order of Radama—Return of the army to the capital.

On the 2d of January, 1824, Radama returned from his expedition to Tamatave, and the north-eastern coast of the island, and entered his capital with the customary ceremonies. The 11th of January had been fixed upon by those who undertook to calculate the favourable days, but the king having heard that some of his ministers, in order to maintain the power of the sikidy, had declared that he could not enter it earlier, determined to show that Radama could and would enter his capital whenever he pleased; and, therefore, he marched to his palace without halting in the suburbs, as had been customary, until the diviners had pronounced it suitable for him to enter.

During this expedition along the coast from Tamatave to Vohimaro, Radama took advantage of various opportunities for urging upon the minds of his people the importance of having their children instructed by the Missionaries. In the declarations which he made to the chieftains of the districts through which he passed, he told them that he had white people at his capital teaching his children and people; and that if they wished to have their children taught, they should send them to Tananarivo, where they should be instructed with his own people; adding, that he would take care of them, and provide for them whatever was necessary for their comfort, while they were learning, and becoming as well informed as the children of Ankova. In three or four instances the king's advice appeared to be adopted, and a number of youths accompanied him towards Imerina; but before he reached the province, the love of home prevailed, and every one of them returned to their families.

In the month of March, 1824, his majesty sent for Mr. Hastie and the Missionaries, as he had a communication of some importance to make to them. On reaching the house called Besakana, in the court-yard, they received a message to the following effect—that the king wished the three schools already opened in the capital, to be joined into one, and called the Missionary Seminary, or Central School; that it should be held at the new building erected by Mr. Griffiths, and be deemed the parent institution, a sort of model or normal school for all the schools that might be formed in any part of his dominions. The king requested that Messrs. Jones and Griffiths would superintend this seminary, and that Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Griffiths would take charge of the female school.

With this request the Missionaries willingly complied,

and in the following month Mr. Jeffreys and family commenced a new missionary station, and opened a school at Ambatomanga. This village, about twenty miles to the east of Tananarivo, had been fixed upon by the king, who sent a message to its numerous population, stating, that as he wished them to learn and become wise, he had sent them a white man to live amongst them, and teach them.

Some of the people expressed much pleasure in receiving this message, but others said they were poor, and could not afford to clothe their children; to which the king replied, that the children might have a piece of cloth tied round them, and then come and learn the book.

About this time a public examination of the schools took place, of a highly gratifying nature to all who were interested in the improvement of the scholars. Radama attended on the occasion, when the advantage of having a printing-press attached to the Mission was submitted to his consideration, and the desirableness of extending the benefits of education still more widely, as well as the propriety of conferring honours only on those who could read and write, were suggested for his consideration. To both these propositions the king promised to attend.

A favourable reply was also granted to a more distinct application, made through Mr. Hastie, for permission to open additional schools in the neighbourhood of the capital; and seven villages were consequently selected for this purpose, with permission to appoint some of the best scholars as teachers.

As in the former instance, some of the people of these places were pleased with the prospect of having their children instructed, while others appeared extremely unwilling that their children should be taught the manners and customs of the foreigners. By this class, numerous objections

and difficulties were started; some asserting that they had no children, others tying rags around them, and saying they were their only clothes; and others rubbing over with soot the already swarthy faces of their offspring, and then maintaining that they were too ugly and too great fools to learn.

The king hearing of this opposition to the projected measure, desired the teachers to wait until he should have a general kabary with the people. He then sent for the heads of each village, and inquired of them what were their grievances. They said they had none; that they liked what he liked, and wished to please him. "Well," said the king, "if you wish to become wise and happy, and to please me, send your children to the schools, and let them be taught; for the good, the industrious, and the wise shall be honoured by me."

If the objections of the people were not actually removed, they did not afterwards express themselves unwilling to have their children instructed; and on Messrs. Jones and Griffiths visiting the village schools thus established, they were extremely gratified by the progress of the scholars, and the good order which the native teachers had established and maintained. At this time there were two hundred and sixty-eight children in the school at the capital, forty of whom were acquiring the English language.

Upon a careful review of the events which had lately transpired, the Missionaries could not but feel that they had great encouragement in their labours. The field for exertion had been greatly extended; a large accession had been made to the number of their scholars; means of instruction were rapidly multiplying, as teachers from the central school at the capital were found competent to conduct those at the different villages around. A commence-

ment had been made in the translation of the sacred scriptures, religious services were regularly held in the native language on the Sabbath, a commodious school and places of worship had been opened, and the Missionaries continued to receive the sanction and assistance of the king in their multiplied and increasingly important labours.

Nor were the hopes of better and brighter days for Madagascar confined to that sphere alone in which the Missionaries were labouring. The morning of civilization had first dawned upon the mind of the monarch, and the light was now extending wherever his influence was felt. Agriculture was rendering to the people the peaceful rewards of industry. Radama felt that he had acquired his sovereignty by his military power, that he must maintain his supremacy by the same means, and that, instead of leading into the field of battle a lawless horde of rapacious savages, he now commanded a regularly disciplined army; while the judicious and indefatigable agent of the British government was seizing every opportunity that presented itself for suggesting better principles of government, and proposing laws more just and beneficial, by which the condition of the people might be rendered more favourable to their intellectual and moral culture.

It may not be out of place here to give some extracts from an official letter of Governor Farquhar's, which affords a more correct view of the internal state of Madagascar for the year 1823, than could be extracted from the pen of any private individual, whose means of information would be more limited.

"I have from the commencement," says the governor, "been of opinion, and expressed the grounds of my belief, that the peaceful and unambitious measures adopted, could not fail to lead to the most advantageous results, whether

viewed with reference to the great and immediate object of solicitude with his majesty's government and the country, the final destruction of the slave-trade; to other general objects of our own, of a political and commercial nature; or to those connected with beneficial improvements upon Madagascar itself.

"That the great practical result in view in making the treaty with Radama, namely, the closing one of the greatest slave-markets in the world, was accomplished, had been ascertained, so far as regards any British trade in slaves, by the indisputable fact, that no instance had occurred of any new slaves having been introduced into Mauritius, nor even any attempt made to do so, for nearly three years.

"In the continued and steady pursuit of the objects I have stated, it appears to me, that previously to my quitting this part of the world, in which, through a long career of public service, I had uniformly maintained an intimate correspondence and connexion with Madagascar, a personal visit among the people of that island, and an interview with Radama, or his principal chiefs and governors on the coast, could not fail to strengthen, and draw still closer, if possible, the bond of our friendship and alliance already formed; and might, perhaps, lead to our procuring farther guarantees against any attempt to revive the slave-trade, or carry the people of this country into slavery on the part of the French and Portuguese, or any other power or state, and under any cloak whatever.

"With such considerations, I determined to avail myself of the opportunity afforded during the voyage home, to accomplish, as far as possible, these desirable purposes. I accordingly landed at Tamatave, one of the most central and convenient positions for trade, on the 26th. This

place, which, previously to, and during the suspension of the treaty with Radama, had been the great resort of slave-dealers, we not only found totally clear of them and their demoralizing influence, but the most praiseworthy zeal and vigilance were conspicuously exercised by the native chiefs and people themselves, to prevent any attempt to evade the laws, and the provisions of the treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade.

"The reception we met with, and the progress of improvement everywhere visible, were to me matter of no less astonishment than heartfelt gratification. After having received a visit from the chief of the place, Jean René, and, salutes having been exchanged, we landed. A well-accoutred and very respectably disciplined body of soldiers, forming a detachment from Radama's army, was drawn up on the beach to receive us; and their conduct, and the regularity of all their exercises and evolutions, marked at once a considerable degree of sagacity, subordination, and sense of propriety.

"We proceeded to the chief's house, and shortly after he requested us to accompany him to the kabary, or assembly, which he had prepared. Arrived at the spot, being in a small plain just in front of his house, we found several hundred natives, with their respective chiefs, seated on the ground, forming a circle, in the centre of which were piled some thousands of pounds of yams, sweet potatoes, and other farinaceous roots, besides fruits of various kinds, all the production of their soil. One of the elders immediately advanced, and made a very eloquent speech, expressive of the high veneration and respect of the Madagascar people for the king of England, of gratitude for the many benefits he had so liberally bestowed on their nation, and of their anxious hope that he would continue his fos-

tering protection and friendship to them and their children. He said that their country was still poor, but that by the wise regulations of Radama, (with the aid and assistance of the British government,) for preventing their people being exported into slavery, for the security of their property, and for the encouragement of their agriculture, they had the prospect of brighter days before them; they wished they could, even now, offer me presents, such as the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru offered; but in the mean time, they trusted that I would accept the produce of their lands, of which each had brought a basket full, as an humble, though not less sincere tribute of their respect and attachment. He concluded the harangue with many kind expressions of regret at my approaching departure, and begged me not to forget them. This speech, which lasted nearly half an hour, was delivered without any hesitation, and was marked by all the emphasis, action, feeling, and propriety, for which the people of Madagascar have been distinguished on all such occasions.

"In my reply, I endeavoured to impress upon them how much more valuable to me, the presents they offered were, than any which the countries they mentioned could produce; that gold and silver could not fail to flow into Madagascar, in proportion to the advancement of agriculture in so fruitful a soil; and to the industry of the people, in exercising the numerous native commodities and manufactures for exportation with which their vast island every where abounded; the improvements of which, together with the introduction of others, through the means of their friends, the English, would rapidly tend to promote an honourable and flourishing trade with foreigners, in lieu of the slave-trade, which had for centuries covered their beautiful country with carnage and desolation; but which had

been so happily abolished, for the peace and welfare of Madagascar, by their own enlightened sovereign.

"After forcibly pressing these and other important facts upon their attention, and bringing forward, in support of his arguments, facts from the history of other countries, to all which the people listened with the greatest attention, the governor concluded his speech. The kabary then broke up with acclamations and shouts of "The King of England, and Radama! and may their friendship continue to ensure security, tranquillity, and happiness to ourselves and our latest posterity!" Several bullocks were, as is usual on such occasions, slain; and the whole assembly partook of the feast, which was celebrated, as is also the custom, by repeated discharges of musketry."

The letter of the governor proceeds to state, that the day after their arrival at Tamatave, Rafaralahy, the chief of Foule Point, came with another body of Radama's troops to visit them, "This is the chief," says Sir Robert Farquhar, "who, at my request, spent the greater part of the last year at Mauritius, when, I trust, every thing was done to afford him an opportunity of improving himself, his attendants, and countrymen, in the knowledge of such useful European usages and arts, as our little colony could furnish. That he has derived considerable benefits from his visit, there is no doubt. It is visible, from the marks of improvement he himself displays, and the fashions which he has introduced among the people whom he has been deputed by Radama to govern; he has adopted the European dress for himself, and has taught it also to the females of his household; and, what is better still, he has introduced habits of domestic industry, and prides himself, not more in the European dress of his attendants, than on the circumstances of these

dresses being entirely prepared and worked by themselves.

"Prince Rafaralahy, besides a very imposing personal appearance, has much natural penetration and quickness of discernment, catches with eagerness every, even the most trifling occurrence in conduct and manners, which he invariably endeavours to imitate and adopt. He is, in every respect, most becoming in manners, and even polite in his conversation; and, being a great favourite of king Radama, and possessed of much influence on account of his skill and courage, as well as humanity, is likely to advance the benevolent views and interests of his master, and of those from whom he has derived so much improvement, and received so much hospitality.

"After a few days' stay at Tamatave, we sailed to Foule Point, in order to make a visit to Rafaralahy. His entreaties to this effect, and unwillingness to disappoint a man so sincerely attached to us, determined me to postpone for this purpose, our final departure. This visit appeared the more called for, from the circumstance of Radama not being present himself.

"There is a considerable colony from the interior of the island settled at Foule Point; they have already introduced the use of the plough, and have succeeded in disciplining their oxen to draught-work and carrying, for which purposes I had sent them instructors, and models of agricultural instruments from Mauritius; and I have the satisfaction of being able to state, that their fields are now well cultivated, and promise a rapid increase, to reward their efforts, and that spirit of industry, for which the inhabitants of Ankova are, in the actual state of civilization of the island, the most remarkable among the numerous

districts of Madagascar. We were very much gratified by the general appearance of the people at Foule Point, relating to their neatness, cleanliness, and comfort; and the excellence of their roads; nor can too much be said in favour of the hospitality and kindness of the chief and the people."

It is not possible to contemplate the apparently auspicious introduction of education, and the useful mechanic arts, at the capital—the encouragement afforded to the Missionaries, and the progress of agriculture, and other means of general improvement—without experiencing the feelings of deepest regret on account of the shortness of their duration, and the disastrous result which an opposite course of procedure has since produced.

In the spring of 1824, Radama, still bent on reducing every chief in the island to a state of vassalage, determined upon undertaking another expedition into the north Sakalava country, and attended with great care to the usual preparations. Having supplicated supernatural aid at the tomb of his ancestors, the king left the capital, in company with Mr. Hastie, on the 28th of May.

On reaching the neighbourhood of Fihiasinana, (or the open country) Mr. Hastie observed that the custom of public feasting on the cattle of the rich, after their demise, had been extensively observed here. Poles were set up, on which were sometimes seen the skulls of as many as forty cattle, which had been consumed on such an occasion; and a single tomb was sometimes seen exposing the marks of 4,000 fireplaces where the flesh of the cattle had been cooked.

On the 12th of June, the army encamped at Anaslavoor, where Radama had directed that the people of Iboina should meet him with the flag which Andriansolo had received from Commodore Nourse. Here the party waited

a stipulated time, which was not fully expired when information of a somewhat questionable nature reached them, that the chieftain was already encamped with a powerful army, of three divisions, prepared to resist the power of the Hovas. Radama, conscious of the superiority of his own troops, was highly elated at the prospect of being opposed, and listened with some impatience to Mr. Hastie's cooler arguments in favour of proposing terms of allegiance, rather than reducing the country to a state of desolation. The British agent, however, persevered, and omitted no opportunity of enforcing upon the king how much greater honour he would acquire by peaceably rendering himself master of the country. Mr. Hastie was well aware, that if once any warlike operations began, the people having been debarred, for the space of three years, from all profit arising from the sale of slaves, and not having yet reaped the full benefits of the improved order of things, were ripe for plunder, and would rush upon the enemy with the same disregard of life and property which they had shown in their former wars. Mr. Hastie, therefore, counselled Radama to send forward a few unarmed men, to ascertain the disposition of the chieftains, and to intimate his intention towards them. To this the king objected; but it was finally settled that a detachment of 500 should be sent, to see what preparations the enemy had made for resistance.

In the mean time, the whole mind of the king seemed to be absorbed by the military exploits, and the consequent renown, he was promising himself; so that when the party returned, stating that the passes were not guarded, nor were other preparations for resistance observable, he considered himself fully justified in advancing, on the ground that the time he allowed to the chieftain for sending the flag was expired.

On approaching the province of Iboina, Mr. Hastie, determined to make one more attempt to bring about an amicable arrangement, requested permission to proceed with a small party to publish the king's intentions. To this a reluctant consent was at last obtained, and he proceeded accordingly with fifty men. With this small company, he went forward, publishing in every place, and charging the people of every village, to inform their neighbours that Radama was advancing with his army, and that his protection would be extended to all who would render allegiance to him. He was soon satisfied that the people of the province were not contemplating anything like resistance, but would be glad to place themselves under the protection of the king; and, with a few persons prepared to confirm this statement, he returned to the camp.

These men were treated by Radama in such a manner as to give them confidence in the lenity of his proceedings, and they returned to reassure their compatriots, who had been making the best use of their time to escape with their cattle and other property. When Mr. Hastie advanced again with his company of fifty men, he found the natives returning with their herds in such numbers as to throng the way; while, at the door of every cottage, poles were erected, with pieces of rofia thread, the badge of allegiance to the Hovas, attached to them.

Before Mr. Hastie left the camp, messengers from Andriansolo had arrived with offers of allegiance, which obtained little credit from the king, and other circumstances of a very suspicious nature occurring, the British agent thought it necessary to proceed with caution to the capital of Iboina, where he arrived on the 27th of June, 1824. He entered Douana bearing a flag of amity, and found there

the flag given by Commodore Nourse in Radama's name, mounted in the court-yard. The town itself was completely deserted, with the exception of one lascar, who gave the information, that the chief had departed the day before.

The number of houses in Douana was then about 740. In the deserted habitation of the chief, many traces of order and regularity still remained. Neatly-raised bedsteads, and partitions covered with tapestry, showed that the chief and his family were no strangers to domestic comfort. In one apartment there was a well-finished India chest of drawers, some handsome chairs, and large mirrors; and, in the largest room, thirty-six feet long and twenty wide, were the great testimonials of the chieftain's royalty, the skulls of his ancestors, preserved in a raised frame enclosed by hangings of white cloth.

From this place Mr. Hastie proceeded in search of Andriansolo, but suffered much inconvenience and delay from the desertion of his guides. Before entering Majungo, he sent a polite note to Hussian Barroched, commandant of that place, to solicit an interview with him on the following day, when he expected to arrive.

This chieftain received Mr. Hastie and his company of fifty men under a tree near his own dwelling, where they were soon surrounded by upwards of four hundred armed attendants, many of whom, bearing bows and arrows, danced around the yard, to the music of some rude drums and brass dishes. Mr. Hastie endeavoured to explain Radama's pacific intentions, but was replied to with the greatest insolence by the chief, who made no scruple to defy the power of Radama, and to speak of him with the utmost contempt.

In the second interview which Mr. Hastie sought, for the purpose of convincing the chief of the hopelessness of resistance, his tone and general manner were still charac-

terized by the same rude defiance. He assured the British agent, that he was unacquainted with his means, the number of his adherents, and the extent of his arms and ammunition, and, as if to inspire a greater degree of awe, he ordered a cannon to be fired, while he himself remained seated on a sort of high stool, cut out of solid block, with a cask of powder on his right, several large horns filled with the same around him, a number of small baskets of horns and flints strewed on the ground, and his attendants all armed with muskets, spears, or with bows and barbed arrows. He had demanded that Mr. Hastie should stop the progress of Radama's party for a stipulated number of days; but on being now told that this could not be done, and that the king was already approaching, he exclaimed, "Then Radama will find me here." At this moment, by his desire, his attendants danced round Mr. Hastie in sham fight, uttering menacing yells, and drawing their bow-strings to the utmost extent. On a signal given by the chief, this farce was discontinued, and in a high tone he repeated, "Radama will find me here under this tamarind tree, which you yourself could as easily remove, as Radama could change me."

Mr. Hastie again remonstrated with the chief, upon the absurdity of his resistance, and, on the nearer approach of Radama's forces, exerted himself with both parties to avert the impending doom of the obstinate old man, who still persisted in saying "that he was prepared, and would not submit." Mr. Hastie left him at last anticipating the result, for the king's soldiers now approached. Time was, however, given to the chief, even yet, to make concessions; but on being asked again if he would submit, he firmly answered, "No;" after which the soldiers speedily put an end to his existence.

At the request of Radama, the British agent accompanied the generals Ramanetaka and Rameno, to the port, where some Arab and Moorish merchants were endeavouring to renew the traffic in slaves, and had already succeeded in obtaining a small number. Here the generals explained the king's intentions to use his utmost endeavours for the promotion of the interests of all engaged in lawful commerce and industrious occupations, both of which, Radama desired the inhabitants should know, were objects of his primary consideration; at the same time he wished it to be explained, that feeling himself entitled to have his laws completely obeyed, it was his desire that any persons not natives of the country, and not inclined to conform to his edicts, should avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to remove from his shores.

On the conclusion of this speech, the natives and residents shouted, "We are Radama's! we are Hovas!" After which the ceremony of swearing allegiance, was gone through by the chiefs and principal persons of the different tribes. The merchants, however, who were not so well satisfied, loudly demanded to know whether the newly published laws would be applicable to persons about to land from some vessels which they had then at sea; to which it was answered, that slave-dealing in any way was contrary to the established laws of Radama.

The same readiness in the people to acknowledge the supremacy of the king, was observed wherever he went, though some of the chiefs, and particularly Andriansolo could not be induced to submit. As a reward to any one who would bring him intelligence of the retreat of their chief, Radama informed Mr. Hastie, that he had offered five hundred dollars. To which Mr. Hastie replied, that he felt it his duty to remark, it was not in accordance with

his character, and high situation, to act in such a manner as would obtain for him the title of killer of chiefs, which appellation he would most probably be known by, even in distant countries, if he sought the life of Andriansolo, now, when so great a part of the people of Iboina had sworn allegiance to him. Radama stated many reasons in his own defence, but Mr. Hastie pressed him so closely on the point of his own honour and moral dignity, as an enlightened prince, that at last he consented to annul the offer of a premium for the person of the chief, and to try what effect the offer of security for his person would have on bringing him to a state of submission.

When Radama's army first entered the province of Iboina, he issued an order that the most trifling trespass or theft should subject the offender to the pain of death; and, for some weeks, no complaint of this kind had been made, when, on the 4th of July, three men were charged with having stolen, in the town, articles to the value of about a quarter of a dollar. On their trial before the general officers, one man was charged with being the leader of the party; and, having confessed his guilt, he received sentence of death, and was shot on the beach at a little distance from the town.

As there was but too much reason to suspect that both Hussian and Andriansolo had acted under the influence of the traders with whom they were connected, Mr. Hastie fixed upon a Moorish merchant, of the name of Abdalla, as his agent and guide in the discovery of the latter, and, with much persuasion, supported by representations of Radama's influence and power, at last induced him to consult with some of the friends of the rebellious chieftains, and to bring them to an audience with Mr. Hastie, preparatory to farther amicable negociations between the parties.

This interview took place at the house of Abdalla, who opened the business by stating part of what had passed between him and the British agent, and adding other things for which he had no authority. He was promptly corrected by Mr. Hastie, who took upon himself the responsibility of the whole transaction, warning the traders and the natives, who consulted together in the Moorish language, of the dreadful consequences that would follow the continued resistance of the chief. A poorly-dressed man amongst the friends of Andriansolo, whom Mr. Hastie recognized as having some months before appeared at the capital, richly attired in a scarlet robe, as an ambassador from that chieftain, asked what proposal was to be made to Andriansolo. To which Mr. Hastie replied, that the proposal was of a very limited, yet very extended nature; it was simply that Andriansolo should render allegiance to Radama, and obey his laws, or be considered an outlaw. The party appeared disappointed, and asked if that was all. They were told that the rest must be left to Radama, who would not forget the late exalted station of the chief. After further conversation and argument, Mr. Hastie was told that Bahaur, who was Andriansolo's confidant, was charged to visit him, and return in the space of three days with his answer.

It was well for the British agent, on this occasion, that he had been on his guard with the crafty Moors, for he was watched by an eye quick to discern the slightest deviation from true and honourable dealing. On turning away from the door of Abdalla's house, he found to his surprise, that the king, having placed himself in disguise amongst the boys who usually attended upon him, had been a witness of the whole transaction. He had not been known by any of the Moors, and, on reaching his

tent, told his friend that his reason for placing himself in this situation, was a fear lest the Moors would act treacherously; under which impression, he had had a guard stationed near, to be ready for any emergency. It was, however, a frequent practice with Radama, to pass in disguise along the streets of his capital, and, doubtless, one of the many means by which he made himself intimately acquainted, not only with the popular opinions of his own people, but with the private motives and characters of men in general.

At the expiration of the stated time, the messengers returned from Andriansolo, accompanied by three of his ministers, who took the oath of allegiance to Radama, on behalf of their chief, in the presence of the whole army. It was then proposed that Mr. Hastie should return with them to the place of refuge, which that prince had sought amongst the woody islands of the river, where his retreat was inaccessible, except to such a number as could be conveyed by small canoes. Radama's object was to make him clearly to comprehend the nature of the oath of allegiance; and it was the business of Mr. Hastie to endeavour, if possible, to bring about an interview between him and the king.

The king was perfectly right in supposing that the profession of allegiance had not been fully understood, for when Mr. Hastie, after much difficulty, obtained an interview with the chief, he found him surrounded by hundreds of armed men, and still possessed with a high idea of the importance of his own resources, and the power of his arms. Accustomed to the flattery and falsehood of the Moors, who had by this means obtained the real sovereignty of the district, which he only nominally ruled; Andriansolo was little disposed to relish the plain dealing of

Mr. Hastie, who scrupled not to present to him a faithful picture of his real situation. When it was urged upon him, that, in accordance with his late oath, he should not only repair himself, but summon all his people to repair to a great kabary, summoned by Radama for the third day of the next month, he replied, that so vast was his district, and so illimitable the extent of his power, that it would not take less than a year to summon all his people.

By the advice of his ministers, however, and the persuasion of Mr. Hastie, he agreed at last to solicit an interview with the king, and for this purpose his ministers were sent back to the camp. After which, Mr. Hastie undertook to bring the chieftain to the great assembly, at which he was to be presented to Radama.

Andriansolo is an extraordinary man; both his mind and manners appear at this time to have been of such a kind, as to admit of nothing approaching to the affability of Europeans, or even of his own monarch. When Mr. Hastie informed him that the king, being a polished man, would expect something of the same kind from so great a chief; and that though he, Mr. Hastie, did not regard his salutations not being returned, the king would expect to be saluted on their meeting; the chieftain asked with perfect simplicity what he meant, neither having noticed that Mr. Hastie bowed to him, or of course made any similar movement himself. In this instance, however, he disclaimed all intention of being rude, and requested, with great simplicity, to be instructed in this novel mode of proceeding. Different words are used in different districts of Madagascar, as the language of salutation; those for Iboina sound like "*Quiz, quiz.*" Mr. Hastie told the chief, that when he met Radama, he should bow or incline his head forward, showing him at the same time what was meant

by the inclination of his own. Profiting by his instructions, the chief attempted to bow, but while he repeated the not inappropriate words, his head moved backward instead of forward; nor was it until a repetition of the lesson, that he could accomplish any thing approaching to the proposed obeisance.

With the same apparent apathetic indifference which characterised his manners in the first interview, he listened to all that Mr. Hastie told him of the greatness of Radama. On one subject alone he evinced the slightest curiosity, and that was, to see the horses which he had heard were now in the possession of the king. He asked what horses were like, if they were like camels? of which animals he was not ignorant, having once had three given him, one of which had died, another had strayed away, and, with regard to the third, having heard that the flesh of camels was good eating, he had had it killed for the purpose of tasting for himself.

The Moors, however, had succeeded in converting him to their religion, at least in persuading him to wear a string of beads attached to his wrist, and to perform certain ceremonies at stated intervals, which greatly retarded his journey to the camp, where they arrived, after many delays, on the 19th of July. Here he assumed a sort of sullen calmness, unequal to the concealment of his real trepidation, which increased perceptibly on his being led to the kabary through the ranks of disciplined soldiers, who fired by companies in open columns.

The ceremony of introduction was rather awkwardly performed on the part of the chief; after which, one of Radama's generals made a long and eloquent speech in honour of his sovereign, and, calling upon the army to support him in his just and noble measures, the people

unanimously shouted their assent, and a roar of approbation reverberated through the ranks.

With his usual politeness, Radama had ordered the Moor Abdalla to have some meat cooked in the manner of the Mohammedans, that Andriansolo might not refuse to eat at the king's table; but when the dinner-hour arrived, he complained of want of appetite, and, soon left, on the plea of retiring to pray.

Radama having occasion to pass with a small escort from Majanga to Ambatolampy, he gladly availed himself of the kindness of Commodore Nourse in lending his barge, with Captain Chapman, to convey him to that place. The commodore had himself waited upon the king with this proposal, and during their conversation had earnestly recommended him to continue the system he had begun, and which had already led to such happy results. He particularly advised Radama to give his attention to every thing connected with commerce, as he had already established his power so firmly by his conquests, and the due administration of the laws, as well as by the decided superiority of his army, that he was well entitled to consider and report himself sole master of the island, in which character he would be authorized to invite people of every nation to visit his country on lawful commercial pursuits.

Radama replied, that in the early part of his life he was in a state of darkness. His forefathers, to whom it was his duty to look to with respect, were entirely unacquainted with the proceedings of the world, and consequently were incapable of giving such instructions as could improve him; he had, however, by application and perseverance, entered a path by which he was enabled to advance; and the success attending his endeavours was such, as satisfied him that he was correct in attributing all he knew, to the

lessons he had received from the British officers and government; adding, that he was confirmed in the propriety of his present plans, and would pursue them with increased ardour.

When Radama went on board the commodore's barge, he requested permission for some of his officers to inspect the vessel. Their amazement was unbounded, on seeing what to them was so new and incomprehensible, nor was their surprise, which bordered upon fear, at all allayed by some of the party being attacked with sea-sickness. The attention of the king was chiefly occupied by the arrival on board, of his friend Captain Moorsom, and by the examination of various charts and drawings. The band, too, afforded him great pleasure, and he accepted with delight the offer of taking some of his young musicians, for the purpose of improvement. In addition to this proposal, Commodore Nourse offered to take some Madagascar boys on board the squadron, to give them some instruction in the duty of mariners. Twenty were subsequently selected and distributed amongst his ships.

On returning to the camp at Majinga, Mr. Hastie again visited Andriansolo, and found him very anxious to know what arrangements were likely to be made relative to his future settlement. He was suffering under great depression of spirits, and entreated that the king might be asked not to remove him from the banks of the river, as he was very fond of fish.

With the utmost attention to the wants and wishes of the chieftain, he was consulted as to the place he would prefer for a habitation to be built for him; and the choice he made appeared perfectly in keeping with what the Hovas regarded as the general features of his character. He hesitated not a moment in fixing upon a little stony, uneven

spot, on an eminence near the skirt of a wood, where no dwelling for man had ever been constructed; a situation possessing no recommendation whatever, except that of commanding an extensive view of swamps and rice-grounds, and having the great disadvantage of being distant six miles from any fresh water. On being asked why he selected this spot, he said, it was rich indeed to him, as he would always have the best rice-grounds and finest pasturage of Iboina in view, while, in the most boisterous weather, neither tide nor river could disturb him. He had besides another reason for choosing this place, where he confessed he had long desired to build a house; it was, that his people might dwell in the low country, where his feet would be above their heads.

To these reasons, which appeared perfectly satisfactory to the chief himself, though it is probable he had others far more important, Radama gave way, and sent immediate orders for the commencement of a dwelling for Andriansolo, at whose request some sacred door-posts, highly prized in his family, were sent for, from Doana.

Sickness was now increasing in the camp of Radama to such a degree, that the report one morning was—4202 unfit for service, and 1652 unable to help themselves. These reports, however, were so familiar to Radama, that he heard them without much concern, merely ordering that a party of three hundred effective men should conduct the miserable creatures to the desert, where they might receive supplies from Ankova.

After waiting to see the habitation for Andriansolo completed, the soldiers of Radama's army were ordered to march, and on the 15th of August the whole party left the place of encampment.

On leaving the province of Iboina, Radama decided upon

its being subjected to the command of four officers of rank: Ramanetaka, to govern, with a garrison of 1100 men, at Majuga, and exercise his influence from the river Kamour in the south, to the river Majamba in the north, all lying east of the Betsiboka;—Ramarosikina, to command all the pro-province of Iboina lying west of the Betsiboka;—Rameno, to govern all lying between the river Majamba, and Saumalaza, and eastward to Sofia;—Razatova, all north of Saumalaza to Cape D'Ambrie, and, on the eastern coast, Diego Suarez, and Vohimaro.

There still remained an extensive dictrict which Radama and his officers had not visited, lying between the river Betsiboka and the sea, and between the northern confines of Iboina, and the river Mavia or Mansiatra, which is in nearly the same latitude as the capital of Ankova. Some parts of this country being inhabited by petty tribes, who had not yet placed themselves under Radama's protection, he thought it expedient that he should obtain a knowledge of the district and the people, and he also wished to visit in particular the part inhabited by the Manendy, as he had not yet received any intimation of their having complied with his demands to proceed towards Ankova. Learning also that the river was at this time fordable, so as to allow much greater facility for his return, the king decided upon sending off all the sick, and proceeding with the old soldiers only.

A division of the tenth of the stock took place previous to the army leaving Douana; the soldiers were, however, so encumbered with their sick comrades, as to be but little inclined to drive away the cattle allotted to them, and young cattle were consequently sold so low as several for a dollar, to those who remained in the district.

On entering the country of the Manendy, Mr. Hastie was

struck with the superior culture of the soil, and with other marks of the industry of the inhabitants, perhaps the more surprising to him from having been accustomed to hear the Hovas speak of them as an indolent people. The general appearance of the country, in his opinion, showed that the people by whom it was cultivated, would, under a proper system of government, become most valuable subjects. The Hovas say that the Manendy, when in marauding expeditions, can live on leaves and roots. Mr. Hastie's opinion was, that they were a hardy race, whose general provisions were far superior to those of the Hovas.

Radama being informed that a number of persons were residing near the coast at Matomba, directed announcements to be made, that he would hold a public kabary at Amboyhitrosy on the wane of the next moon, in order that the people might have time to assemble; his intention being to make easy marches across the desert to that place. In the mean time, Mr. Hastie having formed a plan for visiting the coast, and particularly such places as were likely to encourage the violation of the slave laws, decided upon tracing the course of the river to the sea, and then proceeding by the coast to Matomba.

On his again going to the camp of Radama, an instance of the gross superstitions of the country occurred to his notice, which as it strikingly illustrated the state of the people at that time, may be worthy of a place in the history of the country at large.

The army had been encamped for some days at a place called Manahasaha, near the river Manahasaha, where the great abundance of wild cattle afforded amusement to the soldiers, who were often permitted to hunt them. On the 13th of October, at the moment when the tents were about

to be struck, news was brought to Radama, that some cattle which had been seized by the Mainana were recovered, and that several persons, with the celebrated leader Triemanosinamamy were made prisoners. This intelligence induced the king to defer his departure until the arrival of the detachment. Wishing to see so distinguished a heroine, Mr. Hastie accompanied the officers, who were sent with a message to the sorceress and her followers, one hundred and thirteen of whom, with two favourite chiefs, had been captured, the cattle having been found in their possession.

This woman, who had attained great celebrity as a sorceress, was not more than thirty years of age, extremely unprepossessing in her appearance, and, far from awing the people into subjection by the majesty of her own person, she was short and fat, with woolly hair and a flat nose. On being asked some questions relative to her past conduct, she scrupled not to disclaim all that was laid to her charge, by the most daring falsehoods, concluding with the highest encomiums upon Radama's character, accompanied with many professions of submission, and promises of future allegiance. These were delivered in a strong firm voice, and echoed by the two young chieftains who shared her favour.

On relating what had passed at this interview to the king, he remarked, that he had too many proofs of the bad conduct of this woman, to believe her report; and he then gave orders that the party who had the prisoners in charge should take such measures as would *prevent any possibility of their escaping*. These words were uttered with an emphasis, which left no question about their destined fate, which, according to the general opinion, was richly merited, by the number of instances in which the sorceress and her agents had induced ignorant and superstitious people to

commit acts of cruelty and injustice, under the belief that her nostrums and incantations would secure them from detection.

When the sentence pronounced by Radama was communicated to the heroine, she stood up, and, taking her spear and shield, both which she handled with dexterity, she began to harangue her followers. In delivering her speech, she used much gesticulation. She said that those who believed her to be the spirit of Triemanosinamamy were right, for though her person might now again suffer, she would still be victorious; and, in conclusion, she shouted to her followers, "Never despair! Never despair!"

The foundation of the confidence with which she endeavoured to inspire her people, arose out of a popular superstition, of which she had artfully availed herself in assuming the dignity of their chief. It was related to Mr. Hastie, that four generations before this time, a chieftain, named Triemanosinamamy, governed the district of Valalafotsy in so equitable and successful a manner, as to render himself respected and revered by all his subjects. His good actions were so extensive and powerful in their effects, that they transferred his influence and popularity to his descendants, and especially to one particular chieftain, from whom a slave-boy, the late Sahiloza, was sent for fire-wood, and returning, took a dry faggot, and placed it under a cave outside his master's house, where it soon grew luxuriantly. In the mean time, the boy, who ran into a little building or cemetery, erected over the remains of Triemanosinamamy, a place considered by the natives as so sacred that they believed any person, not of noble blood, would die immediately on entering it. The boy, however, soon began to give proof of his existence in this sacred place by singing and shouting; after which, he declared himself to be filled

with the spirit, and ultimately to be the identical person of the long-deceased chief, Triemanosinamamy, whose voice, it was imagined by those on the outside, he had assumed. Under this title he issued from the tomb, and was received by many as a true prophet, his credit being supported by the miracle of the dry faggot growing, and his good fortune in subsequently foretelling with exactness the defeat or success of some of their marauding expeditions. His career, however, was soon terminated by the jealousy of his former master, who, finding his own power sinking before that of the prophet, declared him to be an impostor, and finally had him put to death.

At this period commenced the victorious career of Radama's father, who, aiming at extending his conquests, attacked the district of Valalafotsy, and met little opposition from the chief, who had been deserted by the greater part of his subjects, under the belief that in the young prophet they had lost the only means by which the invaders could be restrained. The chieftain, with a few followers, sought safety in the district of Iboina, where they were joined by the Manendry and other emigrants or runaways from Imerina. They all settled at Mivamahamay, where, after the death of their chieftain, the settlement was left without any leader of distinction; and much confusion followed, until the individual above alluded to, a woman of unquestionable talent, raised herself to notice amongst them, and told the son of the chief, in confidence, that she was the identical person whom his father had caused to be put to death, in confirmation of which, she showed the wounds inflicted on her former person when in the character of a man, and this she asserted to be the cause of her now assuming that of a female. Rabevola, the son of the chieftain, gave full credit to her story, and several

of the persons who had witnessed the execution of the slave-boy prophet, testified that the report she made of the wounds was correct. She had no difficulty after that, in getting herself installed as leader of the people; though she was sufficiently aware of her perilous situation, to see the expediency of permitting Rabevola, and another chief, to appear to share with her in the government; and several petty chieftains, who afterwards joined the people under her sway, were allowed to form their parties, and enjoy all the privileges of royalty within their respective divisions, by which means she retained her popularity with all, and exercised, without opposition, all the prerogatives of a princess.

When the army of Radama arrived within sight of a well-known mountain situated about three days' journey from Imerina, the most striking characteristic of the Hovas began to be displayed. The idea that Radama would proceed to St. Augustine's Bay, had occasioned many to look with melancholy faces towards a land in which they apprehended a scarcity of rice; but no sooner was this mountain recognized, than the most unequivocal expressions of joy announced the pleasing expectations with which they looked forward to their native homes.

On the 26th of October, the army entered the district of Vonizongo, a populous country, where about one-fourth of the people profess to be able to trace their descent from the nobility; and as it has long been considered that a man of noble blood would dishonour his rank, were he to labour, or even resort to any industrious pursuit as an amusement, Radama adopted the plan of drawing more soldiers from this district than from any other; observing, that such policy would tend to fill his ranks at the time supplies of men were wanted, and finally induce the titled

poor to resort to that industry which would afford them comfort and respectability.

"As we advanced," says Mr. Hastie in his journal, "the country was found to wear an appearance of plenty, and what is called *comfort* by the natives of Imerina. The dwellings are frail, yet the fine rice-fields, and gardens of manioc, sweet potatoes, plantains, and cotton, near them, and the stock of sheep, pigs, and poultry that share the family bed, remove every appearance of want. The reviving music of the milch cows bellowing for their calves, which are also the nightly inmates of the mansion, the barking of a number of watch-dogs, guiltless of the taste of flesh, proclaim the possessor both great and rich;—terms not long ago applied in this country to the owner of even a single dollar, and the individual who could show one was often congratulated on the extent of his wealth."

When encamping near the village of Bemasonandro, he had the pleasure of seeing about two roods of wheat, with an equal quantity of oats and barley, the cultivation of which he had introduced, and which promised a fair crop.

On the 2d of November, the troops being assembled at an early hour, Radama proceeded to the capital, and was received at the usual place of assembly by his mother and family, his ministers, and a great number of people. After the customary salutations, the old chieftains commenced their usual loyal addresses, and were advancing to offer tribute, when the king, whose strength had been much reduced by many late attacks of fever, dismissed them until a public kabary should be held, and returned to his palace to seek the quiet and repose of which he was so much in need.

Though scarcely well enough to bear the fatigue o

public business, Radama attended the kabary appointed for the 14th of November. Here he entered upon a brief account of his campaign, and eulogized the services rendered him by Mr. Hastie, in inducing many parts of the province to submit voluntarily to his government. He told the people that he had enjoined the same laws on those new parts of the kingdom, as he had on them, and exacted the same taxes as in Imerina. "The whole island," said Radama, "is now mine; it is governed by one king, ruled by the same laws, and must perform the same service. There are no more wars. Guns and spears may sleep! I am the father of the orphan and the fatherless; the protector of the widow and the oppressed; the avenger of evils and wrongs; and the rewarder of the good and just. Here are soldiers to suppress rebels, should any arise; and to protect you and your children, your lives and your property. With regard to yourselves, you must now work, cultivate the waste lands, and plant all you can,—rice, wheat, barley, manioc, potatoes, cotton, hemp, flax, and the newly-introduced silk. Unless you work the soil, you will be like this little bullock before you, without father or mother, or any one to pity or care for you. Rushes grow from the earth, and gold and silver will not be poured down upon you from the skies."

At the conclusion of this address, the heads of the districts came forward, and offered repeated promises of diligence, closing their speeches, as if by concert, with threats to have persons and families put into irons, if they would not work and attend to their plantations.

The king, in conclusion, thanked them for the work they had done during his absence, in cutting down part of the mountain Ambohi-janahary, and carrying wood for the erection of his palace.

During the absence of Radama from the capital, the hopes of the Missionaries, in pursuing their labours amongst the people, had been subject to considerable fluctuations. The formation of the school at the capital, and the establishment of some others in the neighbourhood, have already been described. The increase in the number of schools, it may be supposed, would naturally excite the jealousy and opposition of some who were either secretly or avowedly hostile to such innovations. Various circumstances arose to put to the test the feelings and determinations of Radama on the subject. His views were manifested partly by his public kabaries to the people, by conferring honours on the diligent, by threatening those who intercepted his orders in reference to the schools, by encouraging the national custom of betting, and by his frequent communications with the Missionaries as to their line of proceeding. About two thousand children were, in the beginning of 1824, under instruction.

CHAP. XIII.

Extension of education in Imerina—Encouragement given by the king—Large congregations convened on the Sabbath—Complaints of the people—Apprehensions of the king—Military expedition to Fort Dauphin—Menace of the governor of Bourbon—Revolt of the Sakalavas of Menabé and Iboina—Reinforcement sent to Majanga—Revolt of the Betsimisaraka—Embassy of Rasalimo to her father, the king of the west Sakalavas—Defeat and submission of the Sakalavas—Embarkation of Mr. Jeffreys for Mauritius—Death of Mr. Jeffreys and child on the voyage from Madagascar—Arrival of the widow in England—Establishment of meetings for prayer among the Malagasy—Formation of a School Society for Madagascar—Establishment of a repository and library—Progress of education—Arrival of Rev. D. Johns and missionary artisans at Tamatave—Madagascar language alone used in the army—Radama's visit to the coast—Expedition of the Hovas against the Vangaidrano—Valour and patriotism of the nobles of the country—Cruelty and rapacity of the officers and troops of Radama—Revolt in the provinces—Dreadful punishment inflicted upon military officers—Illness of Mr. Hastie—Circumstances by which it was occasioned and aggravated—His arrival at the capital, and partial recovery—Relapse and death—Grief of Radama—Brief outline of his life and character—Letter of Radama announcing his death to the governor of Mauritius.

In the month of May, 1824, a general assembly was summoned of the chiefs of different districts, to receive new orders from the sovereign: they related chiefly to the promotion of agriculture and public works; and on this occasion, to show their zeal in forwarding the king's wishes, the chiefs and headmen of towns, districts, or divisions of provinces were actively engaged in betting against one another to perform a certain amount of service to the government; the bets varied from one hundred to one thousand

dollars, to be paid by the inferior party to that which should excel. In this instance, the people made their bets on the subject of planting mulberries, and rearing silk-worms; and to this was added, by the people among themselves, betting on the most extensive formation of schools in their districts.

Attendance at the schools was always considered by Radama as a branch of service rendered to himself as sovereign of the country. To serve in the army, to fetch timber from the forest, to learn a trade, to prepare and carry charcoal to the capital for the king's smiths, were parts of the service paid to the king, and schools were now made another branch of public duty.

The intentions of Radama were good in making the sending of the children to school a mark of loyalty and obedience on the part of the parents, but it ultimately proved injurious to the interests of education among the people generally; and it ought to be stated, that, although any objection made by parents to allowing their children to attend the schools, was liable to be construed into an act of disloyalty, the king invariably preferred the exercise of mild measures in promoting the education of his people.

In establishing schools and appointing teachers in the villages around the capital, great competition was shown by the inhabitants. The number of scholars promised by the people was the ground upon which the Missionaries decided to open a school, and it was not without satisfaction that they found themselves invited to commence one at the village of Betsizaraina, the residence of the idol Rabehaza, to whose worship the Zanakambony were superstitiously devoted. It was, however, not on the safest ground that their operations were carried on in so sacred a neighbour-

hood. A teacher, who had been instructed in the knowledge of the one true God, and was convinced of the folly and sinfulness of idolatry, happening to speak to the children one day in very disrespectful terms of Rabehaza, he was was severely reproved by the headmen of the village. The teacher defended himself, saying, that the idol was nothing, that even the dust of the earth was more useful than their god. Upon which one of the men was so enraged as to strike the boy with great violence. The affair was afterwards carried before the judges, and it was finally deemed most prudent to remove the teacher from the school. Nor did the matter end here: a short time after that, a heavy shower of hailstones falling, and destroying quantities of rice in the plantations, the people attributed the calamity to the displeasure of the idol, on account of the children's ceasing to believe on him. They therefore threatened the children with the severest consequences of their displeasure, if they still continued to treat the idols with disrespect. "We have nursed you," said the parents, "we have brought you up to this day; but now you forsake the customs of your forefathers. We give you time to think of it, and unless you determine to abide by our wishes and our customs, we shall complain of you to the king."

At the expiration of the period named, the children replied, "We cannot control you, we cannot prevent your complaining to the king; but we have been taught to tell the truth, and if, to please you, we should say with our lips that we believe in the idol, yet in our hearts we cannot."

The people had collected as many hailstones as they could, and thrown them into the school-room. Afterwards, on carrying their taxes for payment to the capital, they took the opportunity of complaining to the king of the

injurious tendency of the schools. "Our children," they said, "are forsaking the customs of our ancestors, and forsaking our gods." "Do you mind your work," replied the king, "and let the children mind their instructions."

A circumstance, equally characteristic of the king, occurred a short time afterwards, when some people from this village waited upon him to solicit a piece of fine cloth to cover their idol. "Why, surely," said Radama, "he must be very poor, if he cannot get a piece of cloth for himself. If he be a god, he can provide his own garments."

Messrs. Jones and Griffiths now divided their time every Sabbath between visiting the village-schools, and conducting divine service in the chapel at the capital; and whether from the novelty of the services, or from the prevalent feeling of competition, each endeavouring to be more zealous than his neighbour, the congregations on the Sabbath frequently amounted to above a thousand persons. The doors and windows of the chapel were thronged, and the court-yard filled. The queen and one of the king's sisters frequently attended; and the people remarked that every Sunday at the chapel was like one of their own kabaries.

The tide of popularity, however, seldom flows long in one channel. When Radama returned from his military expedition against the Sakalavas, the children of the schools assembled, and went to salute him, but met with a reception much less cordial than they had been led to expect from his usual notice of them. The cause of this coolness appeared afterwards to be, that during his journey he had heard numerous complaints from different quarters, of the rapid increase of scholars, and the great offence which the teaching of a new religion had given to his people.

In the course of a few days, Radama sent officially to Mr. Jones to say, that the Missionaries were too active and zealous; and that if they continued to instruct the people with the same speed, they would turn the world upside-down; that his people were tenacious of their old customs, and could not bear to hear of any god as superior to their own idols, nor of any religion except that of their forefathers. He requested that the schools might advance but slowly, otherwise he should not deem his kingdom safe; and he desired that in future the children might be visited only in their own villages.

On this subject he expressed his sentiments more fully when dining with Mr. Hastie some time afterwards, on the occasion of a public examination of the schools. The conversation turned upon the benefits of education to the country, and the importance of the religious instruction of the adults. Various illustrations were employed, the bearing of which was immediately understood by his majesty. He remarked, that he knew his people well. He knew their manners and customs, their trades and manufactures, the produce and merchandise of all the districts and provinces in the island; but that he never knew nor heard of any person in Madagascar inquiring how he might improve himself in useful knowledge. All were admiring what was novel, or imported by the whites, without any persevering desire to acquire similar arts, or to be able to imitate such productions.

"It affords me pleasure," said the king, "to have a British agent to consult with, and British missionaries to teach my people. I am desirous—I am anxious that my people should improve in knowledge. Let me not go too slowly, lest I miss my aim; nor too fast, lest I stumble: for while a man is endeavouring to run with all the speed

he can, if another should give him a push, the chance is, that he will fall."

While the king was thus endeavouring to meet the views of his people by preventing the too rapid advancement of education, he was actively prosecuting the conquest of the island, and, on the 1st of January, 1825, Prince Ramananōlona, accompanied by 2,000 soldiers, left the capital for Fort Dauphin, with orders to take possession of all that part of the country in the name of Radama. One thousand of the troops were to remain there with him, in his appointment as governor of that part of the island; the rest having been sent merely as a provision in case of opposition from the natives, were to return to Imerina. The prince left Tananarivo with his two wives in great state; and in the month of May, news reached the capital that he had been successful, but at the expense of an immense sacrifice of life. The victorious troops had obtained large quantities of spoil, slaves, and cattle; and those who returned to Tananarivo in June, brought not only their share of booty, but a great number of muskets, which they had taken from the inhabitants of the country.

Shortly after this, Radama received a menacing letter from the governor of Bourbon, complaining of his having, by his officer Ramananolona, cut down the French flag at Fort Dauphin; and in the course of a few days, information was received by the king, that the people at Fort Dauphin had revolted, and that the prince was in distress; in consequence of which, a considerable reinforcement of troops was immediately despatched for his relief. Directions were also sent to Tamatave for provisions to be forwarded by sea from that part.

In the latter end of January this year, some thousands of troops and people had been sent from the capital, to form

garrisons, and to erect villages in different parts of the Sakalava country, with a view of offering inducements to the natives to come and live tranquilly among them, to obtain their support by the cultivation of their soil, instead of plunder, and to reap the advantages of more civilized manners than those to which they had been accustomed.

In the course of March, intelligence reached Tananarivo, that in consequence of the demand made for their arms, the Sakalavas, both of Menabé and Iboina had revolted. Instead of being willing to give up the muskets demanded in the name of Radama, they had themselves taken up arms, and made an attack upon the garrisons newly stationed there by the king; and being too numerous and powerful for the detachment left in the country, had put the troops of Radama to the sword, committing at the same time great cruelties and extensive depredations. It was also stated that Andriansolo, having refused to be held in control by Ramanetaka, the governor at Majanga, had fled to an island at a short distance from the coast, where he was well able to defend himself from an attack. The people of the district had also made war upon Ramanetaka, who had, by strenuous and persevering exertions, been able to maintain his ground.

In the month of May, general Rainimaka left the capital with a considerable force, to reinforce the governor of Majanga, and aid in suppressing the rebellion. He was partially successful, and returned to Tananarivo in September, bringing with him an account of Andriansolo; but on renewing his expedition at the close of the year, he fell a victim to the Malagasy fever. He was a man of extensive influence among the natives, much valued by the sovereign, to whose service he was faithfully devoted, and enthusiastically beloved by the military. He had shown

himself the warm and steady friend of the British agent, and of the members of the Mission.

In the same month, General Rafozehana was sent with some troops into Menabé, on a visit to Ramitraha, king of the Sakalavas, to urge him to deliver up his fire-arms, and yield peaceably to the wishes of Radama. Several months were occupied in a fruitless search for him, during which time a great number of muskets were delivered up by different chieftains and their people, and with these Rafozehana returned at the close of the year.

In the month of June, news arrived at Tananarivo, that the districts of Maroa and the Betsimisaraka had revolted in consequence of a demand made for their fire-arms to be surrendered to Radama. Mr. Hastie being at that time at Foule Point, took a few soldiers with him; and crossing in a vessel to Maroa, succeeded in suppressing the revolt. Rafaralahy having also taken some soldiers into the north, was equally successful in restoring order and tranquillity there; and the troops under the command of Andriandina had subdued the inhabitants of the country around the Bay of Antongil, though he was unable to make prisoner Isasy their leader.

The Sakalava country not having acceded to the requisitions of Radama, in the expedition under Rafozehana, the same officer was sent out again in May, 1826. Many months were occupied in searching for Ramitraha, as in the preceding year. That chieftain at length sent a message, stating that he wished to be at peace with Radama, and that he had given him his daughter in marriage with that specific view, that he would agree to deliver up his arms in a few months, not to a general at the head of a hostile force, but to unarmed persons sent for them; and on these terms he was willing to surrender a part of them immediately.

In consequence of this message to the king, Rasalimo, daughter of Ramitraha, was sent to the Sakalava country, accompanied by M. Robin, and a thousand troops under the command of Andriamihaja, as an escort to the queen, and a guard to the embassy.

The father, however, refused to see his daughter, and ultimately evaded the fulfilment of his promise. The embassy had several interviews with a nephew of the chief, and at length fixed a day for the final arrangement of the business; but instead of appearing, agreeably to the stipulations, he advanced attended with a numerous armed force, for the purpose of making a treacherous attack upon Radama's party. Their intention, however, was discovered, and a skirmish ensued, in which the nephew was killed.

Intelligence of this circumstance was conveyed to Radama, who much regretted the melancholy termination of the affair, especially as he had been anticipating the arrival of the prince who had been killed, on a friendly visit to the capital, and had made great preparations to receive him in the most respectful and hospitable manner.

The chief of the Sakalavas also expressed great regret on hearing of the fate of his nephew, although he regarded the blame as attaching solely to him. He said he had been the author of his own misfortune, and that no fault could be attributed to the troops of Radama. He, in his turn, sent an embassy to the king, and thus prevented further hostilities, and secured a season of rest and safety for his people.

In the mean time, the state of the schools and the missionary stations in and around the capital, was still subject to considerable fluctuation, partly from the novelty having subsided, and partly from the king's orders having interdicted the collecting of the schools together for the

purpose of public worship and instruction. The ordinary number of adult hearers was, therefore, much smaller than during the previous year.

The Missionaries, unwilling to confine their efforts to the capital, and having received favourable reports of the salubrity of Fort Dauphin, on the south-eastern coast of the island, communicated to Radama their wishes for the establishment of a mission in that part of the island, and the sanction of the king was finally obtained. Bombatoc was also named some time afterwards as another eligible field for Missionary labours; but with regard to that part of Madagascar, Radama expressed his fears that the people were too superstitious to justify any attempt of the kind at that time.

The Rev. J. Jeffreys had now been in Madagascar three years, one of which he had passed at Ambatomanga, superintending a school there, and addressing the people in the neighbouring villages whenever opportunity offered. In the month of January, 1825, Mrs. Jeffreys had been attacked with severe and painful indisposition, in consequence of which, a voyage to Mauritius was found necessary for the recovery of her health; and in the month of June, Mr. Jeffreys and his family sailed from Tamatave for Port Louis. In this voyage, the inconvenience of their situation on board the vessel, with the unaccommodating disposition of the captain, were amongst the smallest of the trials they were called upon to sustain. On the tenth day after embarking, both Mr. Jeffreys and his eldest daughter complained of pain in the head. Other symptoms of an alarming nature succeeded, and the afflicted mother had to close the eyes of her dying child, at a time when its father could not with safety be made acquainted with its situation. A few days after, its body was committed to the silent deep; and

the bereaved mother was called upon to perform the same melancholy duty to her husband, who was removed by death on the 4th of July, having endeavoured with his latest breath, to point out to his surviving wife that consolation, of which, from her peculiar situation, she was so much in need, and finally commended her to the care of that God who promises to be a Father to the fatherless, and the God of the widow.

Mrs. Jeffreys pursued her voyage to Mauritius, where she remained about six weeks, and then embarked on the 22d of August, with her infant family, for England, which, after a voyage not exempt from perils, she reached in safety on the 22d of the following November.

In the month of August, 1825, a prayer-meeting was instituted for the benefit of the Malagasy youths, in which it was agreed that the native language only should be used. It afforded much satisfaction to the Missionaries to find some of the scholars not only willing to associate with them in these exercises, but capable of engaging in prayer themselves, and with simplicity, fervour, and apparent feelings of true devotion, imploring the blessings of the true God on themselves and their countrymen. These meetings were first held on an evening, but it was afterwards found that the morning would be more suited for the purpose; and they afterwards extended to the village-schools, where several teachers were found, whom the Missionaries deemed it suitable to request to conduct the services.

During the autumn of this year, a son of General Keating's visited Tananarivo, where he arrived in company with Mr. Hastie. Having expressed considerable interest in the state of the Mission, and paid much attention to the schools, he recommended to the British agent the formation of a Madagascar Missionary School Society, for providing,

by special subscription, articles used in the schools, and the support of native teachers, so as to relieve the funds of the London Missionary Society. The measure appearing eligible, a plan was drawn out, and the king's patronage solicited. After some delay, this was procured. Officers were then chosen, and subscriptions entered into. The statement of the object and the regulations were translated into Malagasy, and a deputation was appointed to ascertain what amount of assistance might be expected from the king. Their object, however, did not receive his sanction at first; but this was afterwards given to the proposed plan, on condition that two of his officers should be allowed to attend all the meetings of the Society.

The donations for this object amounted to one hundred and sixty-five dollars, and the subscriptions to one hundred and thirty-seven, besides the loan of one hundred pounds for the benefit of the Society, by James Hastie, Esq. who lent this sum without interest. To the above was added, soon afterwards, a donation of fifty dollars from his majesty, and the offer of ground on which to erect premises for the Society.

The rules of the institution were such as appeared best adapted to the existing necessities of the people, for whose advantage a library was provided, to which it was agreed that natives of Madagascar should be admitted at the recommendation of the members.

An eligible site having been chosen for the erection of premises for the Society, at the north end of the town, and near the chapel, an application was made on the subject to his majesty. Full explanations were laid before him, and he at length consented to make a grant of the land, and to allow his convicts to prepare the ground for the building; stipulating, that in the event of the Society ceasing to exist, he should have the first refusal of the property, at the

amount actually expended by the Society; and if declined by him, and sold to any other purchaser, that the value of the ground, and of the convicts' work upon it, should be paid to him.

An agreement was afterwards made with Mons. le Gros to erect the building; the whole cost seven hundred and twenty-two Spanish dollars.

A plan was then formed for establishing a repository, or store of articles used in the schools, to be distributed gratis among the scholars, and of goods to be sold for the benefit of the School Society. So long as it was proposed to render it an integral part of the School Society, great difficulties were found to exist; some members of the latter being unwilling to take any part of the pecuniary responsibility that must necessarily be incurred, others being already engaged in business for themselves in town. Mr. Hastie, Messrs. Jones, Griffiths, Chick, and Canham, Missionaries, became responsible for different sums, with which the project was commenced; but it did not prove so advantageous to the cause of education as had been expected, and could scarcely be attended to by the Missionaries without some inconvenience.

In the month of March, 1826, the annual examination of the schools took place, and Radama, as usual, presided. Rewards were, on that occasion, presented by the king to those scholars who had made the greatest improvement. The king afterwards proceeded to a spacious plain in the centre of the town, where all the scholars and teachers, amounting to two thousand, assembled. Here he called for a list of the names of all the villages where schools were established, with their respective number of pupils, and, having read it publicly, commended those which were prosperous, and passed censure on the negligent.

The schools of the respective districts having been

classed, so that it might be seen what districts had been most zealous in meeting the king's wishes, he addressed the children in the following words:—"Do you tell your parents, that by attending the schools, and learning the lessons taught you, you not only give me and the white people pleasure, but do honour to yourselves and your parents. The knowledge you obtain, is good—good for trade. By reading and writing, you will learn to record and preserve in remembrance what else would be forgotten, and to acquire the good dispositions which are taught, will render you good subjects; and this will be your greatest honour and glory. Now, go home, and tell your parents I am pleased with you. 'Fear God, and obey the king.'"

Some of the teachers from each district replied to the king in language expressive of their attachment to him, and their determination to deserve his favour; after which, ten bullocks were given to them as a royal present, and the assembly broke up, well pleased with the transactions of the day.

The prospects of the Mission were regarded by its friends as encouraging; and soon after the painful intelligence of the decease of Mr. Jeffrey had reached England, the Directors of the Missionary Society appointed the Rev. David Johns to succeed him, who proceeded accordingly, on the 5th of May, to Mauritius. The party appointed on this occasion to reinforce the Mission at Tananarivo, consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Johns, Mr. and Mrs. Cameron, Mr. and Mrs. Cummins, and Raolombelona, one of the native youths who had finished his education at Manchester, and had made himself acquainted with the art of spinning and dyeing cotton. Several of the youths sent from Madagascar had previously returned, and two of them still remained in England for further improvement. Mr. Johns

and his companions reached Port Louis in safety in the month of July, and Mr. Hastie being at that time in Mauritius, afforded them great encouragement, gave them much valuable information, and assisted them in the prosecution of their voyage. Having been favoured with a free passage in H.M. ship Wizard, Captain Haskell, they arrived at Tamatave on the 11th of September, and shortly afterwards commenced their journey to Imerina.

Prior to their reaching the capital, some degree of discouragement had been thrown over the proceedings of the Missionaries there, by an order from the king for their being subjected to the same laws as the natives; and though, for a time, the operation of this measure was delayed, the king often reverted to it, and by this means convinced the Missionaries that they were watched with jealousy by some, and that their proceedings had been misrepresented to Radama.

In the month of June, 1826, was held one of the most numerous kabaries ever seen at the capital. Many chiefs were present from Menabé, Iboina, Vohimarina, Betsimisaraka, and from Betanimena, with the whole population of Ankova and Betsileo. The troops were drawn up from the north end of the town to the court-yard, where the chiefs were admitted to present their hasina to the king, and to assure him of their loyalty and good faith. In reply, Radama declared his satisfaction with their expressions of attachment, and assured them he would ever protect the oppressed, and honour the patriotic. The pomp of the day, and the real importance of the exhibition, far exceeded anything of the kind that had yet been seen in Tananarivo—the representatives of a far larger portion of the country attending, to declare allegiance to Radama, who was about to leave his capital on a military expedition.

The main body of the troops being assembled, the king, on the same day, gave orders that the words of command used in the army, should be changed from the English language into native. From this time forward, Malagasy only was to be used.

Before setting out on his march to the coast, Radama received two visitors, Lieutenants Cole and Campbell, at the capital, with his wonted hospitality and kind attention; and about the latter end of June, he set out, taking with him about one thousand five hundred of his troops, and leaving General Rafozehana in command at Tananarivo.

In the following month, General Brady left the capital with an army of about nine thousand troops, and five thousand people carrying baggage. They were sent on an expedition into Vangaidrano, in the south of Madagascar, to make war on the chieftain Rabedoka. More than nine months were employed in the subjugation of this province, the population being numerous, and the opposition formidable. Rabedoka was at last made prisoner, with upwards of twenty of his principal nobles, and, on refusing to submit, was finally put to death. His nobles also, with a fidelity and patriotism which can scarcely be contemplated without admiration, choosing to share the fate of their leader, rather than acknowledge the sovereignty of Radama, were massacred in cold blood. Parts of the body of the chieftain were brutally and wantonly affixed by the Hova soldiers to long poles, and placed at the entrance of the town where he had resided. Two thousand of the inhabitants of the province are said to have fallen in this war; and many who were taken prisoners, were sold for slaves at the capital.

The army returned to Imerina in January, 1828, bringing with them immense numbers of cattle, which they had, in their career of murder and plunder, seized as booty, and

five thousand stand of arms, which they had taken from the people of the country. Radama, however, sent home free those who had been free before, retaining none but slaves in slavery. But although complete success attended the efforts of the king's troops in this campaign, the cruelties perpetrated on the vanquished, and the insult offered to the bodies of those who had fallen in defence of their hereditary and rightful sovereign and their property, have left a stain on the record of these transactions, too dark and horrible to be obliterated by any acts of apparent clemency, or even to be regarded by any honourable mind otherwise than as acts deserving ever to be held in just execration.

On the return of the troops, several were charged with having deeply disgraced themselves by cowardice in the field. They were brought under examination, and one of the officers requesting that he might be allowed to drink the tangena, as a test of his having faithfully discharged his duty, his request was granted, and the test decided in his favour. Nine, however, were condemned capitally, and suffered the appalling death of burning. At the place of public execution, a large circle of faggots was formed around them; and the sufferings of one or two, who endeavoured to extricate themselves, were dreadful in the extreme.

The king prolonged his visit at Tamatave until November, 1827, when he returned to the capital in a state of health so much impaired, as to occasion the most serious apprehensions. He had remained at Tamatave partly on account of business, and partly for the indulgence of his habits of enjoyment, which were far from being diminished in proportion as his bodily strength declined.

Great as was the sense of fear which the superiority of

Radama's disciplined troops had impressed upon many of the provinces, the country was still in a state very far from tranquil; and about this time, Ralahifotsy was sent with a number of troops, to check symptoms of rebellion which had appeared in the Betanimena and Anteva provinces. Prince Corroller was deputed to go and suppress the daring and increasing brigands at Beforona and its vicinity; and another officer was despatched to the Antsianaka province, to quell some petty disturbances which had taken place there.

On the return of Ralahifotsy, he was charged with having defrauded the king, in the quantity of the spoil taken in the wars. The investigation of the case lasted for a considerable time, and terminated in his being found guilty. The king had placed great confidence in this officer, and was extremely mortified at the proof of his want of integrity. His determination to punish such as should be found guilty of a similar offence, had been published by a recent proclamation, and he therefore decided upon treating this case with the utmost severity of the law, as an example to deter others from the same practices.

On the day when this awful sentence was announced, cannons were heard firing in loud and rapid succession. The drums beat the signal of alarm and death. The criers summoned the people to an immediate kabary; and while crowds rushed to the place of meeting, consternation seized and appalled many of the people. When the multitude were assembled, the silence of death soon followed. The judges proclaimed the result of the investigation. Guilt had fixed its indelible stain upon the defenders of their sovereign; and at the first crowing of the cock on the following morning, Ralahifotsy and a brother officer were conducted to the place of execution, where they were shot

and speared. Contrary to the usual custom of the country, their bodies were given to their friends for interment, though, before their life-blood was cold, the dogs had already begun to devour them as their prey.

Ralahifotsy was a fine young man, of noble and manly aspect, who had attained great eminence for his abilities in addressing the public kabaries, and was much esteemed by the people. He had shown himself friendly towards the Missionaries, and appeared much interested in their exertions for the good of the country.

Rafaralahindéra, the officer who suffered with the general, had been convicted of similar practices, but had not been a leader in the frauds, nor carried them to the same extent. He had once struck a slave so violently as to occasion his death; and this act, though committed in a moment of passion, and such as would have been treated as manslaughter by English law, so aggravated his guilt in the sight of the Malagasy judges, that his death was decreed, and inflicted.

It would not perhaps be correct to ascribe the strictness with which the law was enforced in these instances altogether to the inflexible virtue of the sovereign and the judges, in their determination to maintain inviolate the laws of the country. There is reason to apprehend that, on the part of the judges, a spirit of partisanship or personal feelings had some influence, and the apparent delight in cruelty, and insensibility to the sufferings of others, so evident on many occasions among the people, must have operated to some extent in devising and executing the sanguinary punishments that were sometimes inflicted.

Early in the year 1826, Mr. Hastie had set out for Tamatave, where the chieftain, Jean René, was then extremely ill. Mr. Hastie attended upon him with the

greatest kindness, and administered the medicines which he had so often found availing in the prevalent diseases of the country. On his appearing somewhat recovered, Mr. Hastie proceeded to Tananarivo, but had not been there more than a week, before he received intelligence that the chieftain was dead, and had appointed him his executor. He instantly set off for Tamatave, where he remained occupied in arranging the affairs of the deceased chieftain, and in attending to business connected with the government, until May the 19th, when he embarked, apparently in good health, for Port Louis. The third night after going on board the vessel, he arose in his sleep, and went on deck. The officer on watch having no suspicion of his real situation, called out to him, when he started, suddenly turned round, and fell down the hatchway. He was stunned by the fall, and remained insensible for some time. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to understand his situation, he bled himself, but complained of great pain in his side, and eventually discovered that he had sustained considerable injury by the fall.

On the 30th he arrived at Port Louis, where every attention was paid by the medical attendants recommended by the governor. For some time Mr. Hastie was so ill, as scarcely to leave a hope of his recovery. No sooner, however, had the disorder taken a favourable turn, than he prepared for his return to Madagascar; and, ever ready to afford his assistance in the prosecution of the objects of the Missionary Society, he facilitated some arrangements for a new reinforcement of the Mission, which had lately reached Port Louis, consisting of Rev. D. Johns, and Messrs. Cameron and Cummins, whose voyage from England has been already noticed. Though much reduced, and still extremely feeble, he was regaining strength daily,

and therefore embraced the earliest opportunity of embarking. After arriving at Tamatave, he again went on board a ship lying in the roads, and unhappily experienced another severe fall. He was consequently detained some days at Hivondrona, where he was extremely ill.

When the intelligence of his illness at Mauritius first reached Tananarivo, many fears were entertained on his account, but his friends were greatly relieved by receiving letters in August, announcing his arrival, and that of the new members of the Mission at Tamatave. Radama evinced the most heartfelt pleasure on hearing the intelligence. He even danced with delight, and ordered the cannons to be fired, the drums to beat, and the band to play, as expressions of his high gratification. General Brady, with a number of soldiers, were sent off to meet Mr. Hastie, and bring him to the capital without delay: letters were also despatched to congratulate him on his arrival.

Mr. Hastie, after having made arrangements for the party which had accompanied him from Port Louis, and sent them forward from Hivondrona, returned to Tamatave, to attend to some matters of government. From thence he went forward by the lakes, where he amused himself by setting out on a shooting excursion. Circumstances again appeared unpropitious, for his powder-horn exploded while he was charging his fowling-piece. His right hand was severely injured, and the use of it lost; however, he was able to write with his left. A messenger was sent off to the capital with the intelligence, and Mr. Jones proceeded immediately to meet Mr. Hastie, and render any assistance that was in his power. He met him on his way to Imerina, about sixty miles from Tananarivo, accompanied by three French gentlemen.

On the evening of the 4th of September, they reached a village about eight miles from the capital, when night coming on, some of the party preferred remaining until the following day; but Mr. Hastie, who had been absent from his family a considerable time, resolved upon proceeding at once to Tananarivo, and accordingly set out in the dark to travel on a dangerous path. In passing over a steep part of the road, his bearers slipped, and he was thrown forward. He fell on his head, and again injured his side. All these repeated accidents, Mr. Hastie sustained with extraordinary fortitude. His mind appeared to surmount all difficulties, and his characteristic energy triumphed beyond the measure of his physical strength.

In the course of a few days he so far recovered his usual health, as to be able to ride out. He visited the several members of the Mission family, some of whom were at that time suffering under the Malagasy fever. Though unable to use his hand, it appeared to be healing rapidly; but on the evening of the 25th of September, having made two or three attempts to take off his coat without assistance, he renewed his efforts with so much exertion, as to cause an immediate return of the pain in his side. Inflammation of the liver succeeded, and his illness increased. He endeavoured to effect his recovery by taking such medicines as he deemed most suitable, but not succeeding in his first attempts, he took an additional quantity of calomel. His tongue and face became swollen, but no beneficial effects followed. On the 15th of October he became much worse. Messrs. Jones and Griffiths immediately went to him, and found him so much altered, that they could with difficulty comprehend his expressions. They remained with him night and day; the king also visited him frequently, and sent hourly messages of inquiry to his house.

Few monarchs have given a higher testimony of their regard for an individual than that conveyed in the language of Radama to the friends who were watching by the bedside of Mr. Hastie. "I have," said he, "lost many of my people, many of my soldiers, most of my officers, and several of the Maroserana, or highest nobles; but this is nothing in comparison with the loss of Andrian-asy.* He has been a faithful friend; vady ny Madagascar—a husband to Madagascar: the good he has done cannot be too highly spoken of by me. He has surpassed every agent that preceded him; and never will any who may succeed him, prove his equal. Many may come here, but none will feel more interest in Madagascar than Andrian-asy. Many may boast much, but none will do so much as he has done, nor endure the toils which he has endured. May God spare his valuable life to us!"

Such were the grateful and affectionate expressions of Radama. He felt as a father about to be bereaved of a beloved son, or as a son losing the counsels of a father whose character he reveres, and whose affection he reciprocates.

About one o'clock on the 8th of October, Mr. Hastie gently breathed his last, leaving with his widow an infant son, then about twelvemonths old.

Intelligence of the event was conveyed to the king without delay. His majesty, contrary to the customs of the country, went to see the corpse, attended by the several members of the royal family. The same mark of respect was paid by the judges, the officers, and the principal people. A minute-gun was also fired, as a public mark of honour. Nothing was left undone which could demonstrate

* "Andriana," nobleman,—a title of respect and honour; and Hastie, contracted into "asy."

the respect entertained for his memory, both by natives of every rank, and Europeans at the capital. His majesty sent persons to prepare the grave, and the senior judge furnished the stones which he had prepared for the erection of his own tomb.

On the 20th the corpse was taken to the Missionary chapel, where the funeral service was conducted by the Rev. D. Griffiths. The king, the royal family, the judges, and the officers attended, with a vast concourse of people. The body was then conveyed for interment to the Missionary burial-ground, where the assembled multitude were suitably addressed by the Rev. David Jones.

The character of Mr. Hastie, and his judicious and upright conduct as British agent in Madagascar, are so intimately associated with the most important era in the history of that country, so honourable to the nation which he represented, so worthy of the imitation of all who may occupy similar situations, that some notice of this truly honourable man may be appropriately introduced.

Mr. Hastie's parents were members of the society of Friends. He was born in Cork, 1786, and received from his earliest years the most assiduous attentions, in bestowing upon him the advantages of a respectable and religious education. The restraints of religion, however, and the peculiar manners of the respectable society with which his parents wished him to associate, proved uncongenial to his taste; and although occasionally checked by the admonitions of conscience, and the force of early impressions, he entered with ardour into the gaieties and pleasures of worldly society.

Many incidents occurred during his youth, indicative of a bold and adventurous disposition. On one occasion, he and his sister entered a kiln on his father's premises, for

the purpose of drying some gunpowder in a pan over the fire. It soon exploded, and his own clothes and his sister's caught fire. He had the presence of mind to drag her instantly to an adjoining pond, and succeeded in extinguishing the flames; but his right eye was so severely injured as to lose the power of it, though the eye itself presented no appearance of defect.

In pursuance of his youthful inclinations, Mr. Hastie was induced to enter the army. He joined the 56th regt., and spent several years in India, where he served during the Mahratta war. He was promoted to the rank of sergeant, and obtained the notice and esteem of his officers, especially of Col. Barclay, for his diligence and ability in keeping an account of stores. In many of his expeditions he suffered extremely, and, but for a constitution naturally strong, he would most probably have sunk, like many of his comrades, under the hardships of the service.

In the year 1815, Mr. Hastie arrived at the Mauritius, and soon afterwards attracted the notice of Governor Farquhar, by his extraordinary and daring exertions in saving the government-house from flames, during a fire at Port Louis, in September, 1816. The flames had come in contact with the roof of the building, and were there extinguished by the intrepidity of Mr. Hastie, who, at the peril of his life, having tied a wet blanket around his neck, mounted a ladder, in the corner of the roof, that was just taking fire, and with a bucket of water, which he had carried up by his teeth, succeeded in arresting the progress of the flames. A large pier-glass, in the government-house, had been broken in pieces by the intense heat. Of this, Mr. Hastie obtained a fragment, and afterwards had it made into a small looking-glass, which he kept as a memorial of his able and successful exertions.

As a mark of consideration for his meritorious services, his excellency the governor recommended him to the British government, for a commission in the army, and, in the mean time, he was appointed to be preceptor to the two Malagasy princes who had arrived at Mauritius for instruction. Mr. Hastie was subsequently directed to accompany them on their return to Madagascar, where, as has been already stated, he was appointed assistant agent to Mr. Pye. His faithful services in this capacity have already been described. It remains only to add the testimony of those who knew him well, to the general tendency of his transactions with Radama, and his influence in the court of that king.

Seven years actively employed in the service of Madagascar, and two in a state of uneasy suspense and mortification respecting it, at Mauritius, may justly be deemed sufficient to entitle Mr. Hastie to the character of a faithful agent to his government, and a steady friend and benefactor to Madagascar. Few men could perhaps be found more alive than he was, to the honour of his own country and government, more anxious to sustain its dignity in the eye of foreigners, or more zealous in the pursuit of those objects which he knew his government supported in its connexion with the island of Madagascar. Few men, it may also be said, have been able to obtain greater success in their measures—measures calmly deliberated upon, and arranged, and then steadily and perseveringly pursued. In all that related to the extinction of the slave traffic in Madagascar, to the formation of a well-ordered native army on the European model, as the great means of securing the ascendancy of Radama, and to the introduction of many valuable European arts and sciences, adapted to the wants and condition of the island, Mr. Hastie was indefatigable in his

labours, and succeeded, perhaps, beyond his own most sanguine expectations. In reference to the king, although he was clear and decided in his statements, inflexible and uncompromising in maintaining the truth, he always endeavoured to influence him rather by persuasion, and by suggestions which might find their way to his own judgment, and awaken and stimulate his own reasonings and wishes, than by any remarks which the king could deem intrusive or dictatorial. He knew Radama's vanity, and, without offering adulation, endeavoured to prompt and lead him on to exertion, by appearing merely to give the hint, and then allowing the credit of the measure to be appropriated by the monarch himself—thus in reality effecting far more than he could have done by direct proposals and urgent solicitations. He wished Radama to exhibit before his people, so far as he could, by his own royal example, a pattern of industry and improvement to his people—to be, in short, the principal builder, merchant, cultivator, planter, and gardener in the kingdom. His influence with the king increased rapidly, from the time of their first acquaintance. Radama was cautious, but he showed in many instances, that he placed a confidence almost unbounded in the opinions and judgment of the British agent.

It would be fruitless to attempt anything like an account of the individual instances in which Mr. Hastie endeavoured to promote the great work of civilization in Madagascar. The introduction of the first protestant Missionaries to the capital; the wise, humane, and judicious counsels he gave to Radama; and the faithful, laborious, persevering efforts made to effect the abolition of the slave-trade, and the suppression of the piratical attacks on the Comoro Islands,—have been already detailed. His successful efforts with the

king to induce a commutation of capital punishments, by substituting hard labour in chains, for death, is as creditable to his humanity, as the reduction of money from 70, 80, and 100 per cent., to 33, is to his sound policy, in a country where capital is small, and requires encouragement. Besides the good already stated, Madagascar is indebted to Mr. Hastie for the introduction of the horse, and many other useful and valuable animals, and of seeds and plants of various descriptions. He had made arrangements with the king for the manufacture of sugar, and, a short time before his decease, ordered apparatus from England for that purpose. He had also introduced two ploughs, a harrow, and some wheel-carriages, with various implements of industry; and to him the people were indebted for the method of training oxen for the yoke and to carry burdens. Though passionately and avowedly fond of amusements, he neither introduced nor encouraged them at Madagascar. His constant aim was to set an example of industry, and hence, although a billiard-table was opened by a European at Tananarivo, he neither played himself, nor gave it his sanction.

In pursuing the various objects which his generous mind embraced, he displayed an eminent degree of persevering energy. No labour appeared to him too tedious to be undertaken, nor could discouragement abate his ardour while a ray of hope remained. To accomplish his object, he brought all his faculties to bear upon one point, so that few difficulties were so great as to impede his progress, or turn him aside from what appeared to be his duty.

The protestant Mission in Madagascar is deeply indebted to the support and countenance of Mr. Hastie. He was not only ready on all occasions to sanction its labours when solicited, but voluntarily embraced every opportunity by

which he could manifest the cordial interest he felt in its prosperity, believing it to be among the most important means for securing his favourite object—the civilization of Madagascar. From the memory of those members of the Mission who witnessed and shared his attentions, the impression of his friendship and zeal will not soon be effaced.

The high esteem in which Mr. Hastie was also held by those traders at Mauritius who had commercial connexions at Madagascar, deserves to be noticed. During the period of his agency, he possessed the full measure of their confidence, for they knew that no exertions of his would be wanting, to secure respect for their property. They trusted also to his prompt and friendly consideration of their interests, and the zealous and vigorous measures by which he guarded their rights.

Mr. Hastie appears to have been endowed with good natural abilities, and to have obtained a considerable degree of useful, general, and practical knowledge. His manners were free, his advice candid, his disposition generous, and his friendship constant: a foundation was probably laid in his youth, for a solid and liberal education, which, had it not been impeded in early life by his fondness for pleasure, might have raised him to still higher respectability. In proof of the manner in which he always endeavoured to turn his information to practical account, it is only necessary to allude to his extensive and successful practice in the use of medicine. His acquaintance with the theory was probably extremely limited, but, having paid considerable attention to cases falling under his notice, he qualified himself to be of great use in many instances of illness in Madagascar, especially in the treatment of the fever of the country. His success in the management of this disease became so general, that both Europeans and natives referred with

confidence to his advice. The numerous instances in which he visited the sick, and relieved the distressed in Madagascar, afford decisive proofs of his kindness and generosity. It is scarcely necessary to add, that they tended to raise him in the estimation of the natives, whose temper, genius, and character he studied, with honour to himself, and advantage to his mission.

While these circumstances exhibit in a favourable light the character of the British agent, they also demonstrate the sound policy of the enlightened governor of the Mauritius, Sir Robert Farquhar, by whom Mr. Hastie was appointed to his office, and whose liberal views, with regard to Madagascar, induced him to afford that effectual aid to the agent, without which his exertions must have been comparatively few and feeble.

The widow of Mr. Hastie is at present in this country, superintending the education of his only child, for which purpose a pension is allowed by the British government.

The following, is a copy of the letter sent by Radama to Sir Robert Farquhar, announcing the melancholy event of Mr. Hastie's death.

"Tananarivo, 23d October, 1826.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to do the painful and lamentable duty of informing you, that James Hastie, Esq., the enlightened and faithful agent of the British Government at my Court for several years, is now no more. He expired on the 18th inst., at one o'clock, p. m., after having been very ill for a long time. By his wise counsels, and promptitude always to assist the needy and distressed, he not only attached myself to him more and more every year, but also my people, who lament his loss, as a friend and a father, who could conduct himself in such a manner as to attract the affections of persons of every rank among my subjects.

"In order to show my regard of him, and my sorrow at his loss, I directed that every thing in my power should be done to his honour, as soon as he died, and to give him as honourable a funeral as can be done in this country; therefore, I ordered guns to be fired every quarter of an hour, from two o'clock on the day he died, until evening; and the same again on the day of his funeral, until he was buried.

"He was buried on the morning of the 20th inst., in a vault, built of stones and mortar, made expressly for him, on the 19th; for, after learning the kind of tomb his sorrowful partner, and his friends here, desired to have for him, I immediately issued orders to my ministers to have all the necessary stones collected, and the vault made without delay; and that the grenadiers should escort him to his tomb, and fire over it three rounds, according to the British custom, as I was told.

"Notwithstanding the death of James Hastie, Esq., the British agent at my Court, yet I, Radama, who have stopped the slave-trade, in accordance with the treaty which I have entered into with his Britannic Majesty, am still alive; and am determined, by every means in my power, to abide unchangeably by any stipulations in the treaty, if the British Government continue to give me annually what is stipulated therein.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "RADAMA."

CHAP. XIV.

Arrival of a printing-press—Death of Mr. Hovenden, missionary printer—Annual examination of the schools in January, 1828—Detection and summary punishment of an impostor who pretended to make known future events—The extension of education encouraged by the king and his officers—Arrival of the Rev. J. J. Freeman and family at the capital—Notice of robberies committed on the way—First printing in Madagascar—Proposed baptism of native converts approved by the king—Means of improvement provided for the native teachers—General view of the Mission—Death of Mr. Rowlands, missionary artisan—Arrival of Messrs. Bennet and Tyerman at Tananarivo—Illness and death of the latter—Dangerously increasing illness of Radama—Arrival of R. Lyall, Esq., British agent at the capital—Death of the king—Its concealment from the populace—Deep anxiety among the people—Assumption of the government, by Ranavalona, one of the nominal queens of Radama—Proclamation announcing the king's death—Orders of the new sovereign—The widow and child of the king—Description of the person and character of Radama by Prince Corroller—Immediate effects of the king's death—Departure of Mr. Bennet from the capital—Interview with Prince Rataffe—Cruel massacre of the latter and his princess.

A SHORT time previous to the decease of Mr. Hastie, he had rendered his last service to the Missionary Society, by conducting Mr. Johns and his party on their way to the capital. Messrs. Blancard and Dayot, and Captain Barnes, travelled from the coast to Imerina at the same time.

Illness attacked several of the party soon after reaching the capital, where disease was then prevailing extensively. Mr. Hastie, who was so far recovered as to be able to attend to public business, exerted himself in opposing the formation of a commercial treaty proposed by Mons. Blancard, a measure which he considered too monopolizing, and calculated to injure rather than benefit the country, although unquestionably tempting to a sovereign who was

anxious to find his financial resources replenished without delay or trouble.

Since the introduction of education among the people, the labours of the Missionaries had been retarded for want of a sufficient supply of books in the language, which they had now reduced to a regular grammatical system, but in the month of November, 1827, the long-cherished desire of the Missionaries, that their labours might be facilitated by a printing-press, seemed about to be realized, by the arrival at the capital of Mr. Hovenden, who had been previously employed by the Bible Society at St. Petersburgh, and had now been sent out by the London Missionary Society, as printer, with press, types, and the requisite printing materials. But within two days of his arrival with his family at Tananarivo, they were seized with the Malagasy fever, and on the 15th of December, to the deep affliction of the members of the Mission, Mr. Hovenden died.

On the 8th of February, 1828, the annual examination of the schools took place, as usual, at the capital. His majesty sent messages to the scholars by his chief secretary, and two other officers, being himself too much occupied to attend. The subject to which he was at that time giving his attention, was the detection and punishment of an impostor, which he effected in the following decided and characteristic manner:—

It had been reported to Radama, that a man, at a short distance from the capital, professed himself to be inspired, and able to foretell events. The king sent for him, and received him with much parade, his body-guard being drawn up, and the female singers arranged in their customary order. On entering the gate at Mahazoarivo, the singers saluted him, "Tonga ny Andriamanitra," "God is

come, god is come." The king sent to ask him what was his "fady," or religious observances, and what he was able to do. He replied, that everything unclean was forbidden; that he knew all secrets, and could disclose futurity. "Well," replied Radama, "I am neither very clean, nor very dirty; can I approach you?" "Certainly," replied the pretended discloser of secrets. "Well, then," said the king, "there is a piece of gold buried near this house: we have searched for it, but cannot find it. Tell me where it is, and I shall believe your pretensions, that you are a god." The poor fellow was reduced to a very painful dilemma. Trembling with fear, he fixed first upon one spot, and then another, but all in vain. Five or six places were tried without success. "Ah! ah!" said the king, "he is evidently an impostor. He is deceiving the people, and robbing them of their pence. Fetch a stick, and let him be beaten." Some of his attendants instantly obeyed the command; and no art that he possessed, could save his person from the punishment. Having suffered as much as he could well bear, the king gave orders for him to be taken to Ambohipotsy, and there beheaded. He was immediately conducted towards the fatal spot, in full expectation of this melancholy fate. A second message was, however, despatched, as he drew near the place, for him to be put in irons, the first order having only been intended to frighten him out of his impostures. He was accordingly put in irons, and banished to Ambohibohazo, where he remained at work at the time of Radama's death.

This circumstance was related throughout the country, and tended to check the pernicious influence of similar impostors.

On the 18th of February, 1828, the School Society held its first annual meeting, at which a report was read, stating

that three new schools had been established during the year, and five others revived which had been declining. One of the latter was divided into three, for the convenience of the scholars; and three youths were attending at the central school, who had been sent for education from the eastern coast, and from persons belonging to the Betanimena country. The total number of schools amounted to thirty-two, and that of scholars to four thousand.

A copy of the report was transmitted to the British and Foreign School Society, and another was sent to Radama, from whom the following answer, (literally translated,) was received:—

"And, saith Radama,

"I have seen the document telling the things all good and excellent.

"And, saith your friend,—This country is ignorant indeed; not able to write, not acquainted with the customs of the people who have become wise: nevertheless, before you came, they were able to pray to God. And after God, next to him, the king himself is considered, first of all as a visible god, because he gives the law, so as not to lose wives and children, so as not to lose things that are sown, and all kinds of property, but to pray always. If there be not a king to protect wives and children, it will not be right; still it is God only who can establish the king, for the king is a general of God; and if there be not a general, it will not be right: nevertheless, unless the general also knows God, it will not be right.

"And the people of this country are ignorant as to the knowing what is just; but I am exceedingly glad that you have come here as teachers, to advance wisdom and good dispositions.

"Saith Radama, your friend, this country is given by God to Lahidama.*—Lahidama is the lord of the law."

In the absence of the king from the capital, the officer who had been entrusted with the management of affairs,

* Radama and Lahidama are synonymous. "Lahi" and "Ra" are merely affixes to proper names.

showed every disposition to support the Missionaries in their labours; and at a kabary held by him on the 18th of February, he delivered an address in the king's name to the parents of the scholars, and to the head people of the districts where schools were established. "The Missionaries," said he in this address, "have left their own country, their relations, and their friends, to come to you, and to instruct you and your children; and in the discharge of this benevolent work, some of them have fallen." Then, pointing to the Missionary burial-ground, "And there," he added, "yonder is the spot where the bones of several of them are laid, far from the graves of their fathers; and this is a proof of what I have told you respecting them. Take care, therefore, that the children attend properly. Those who are the most advanced, may now leave the schools; but let them still attend on Sundays, and at the monthly examinations, lest they should forget what they have learned."—It may here be added, that this plan was strictly enforced by Radama, with this condition, that if the dismissed scholars were found to have forgotten their former lessons, they should re-enter the schools, and again submit themselves to tuition.

In the month of September, this year, 1827, the Missionaries had the pleasure of welcoming to a share in their toils and their pleasures, the Rev. J. J. Freeman, who had dissolved his ministerial connexion with the church and congregation at Kidderminster, for the sake of devoting his life to the moral and spiritual welfare of the Malagasy. Mr. Freeman, with his wife and family, were accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Canham, Mr. C. having been on a visit to England. At Tamatave, Mr. Freeman had been welcomed by Radama, who was on the coast at the time of his arrival, and who, it was expected, would shortly proceed to the

capital. In travelling up the country, the party were subjected to much inconvenience and delay, from not being able to obtain a sufficient number of bearers, in consequence of which, part of their goods were left at Ambohibohazo; and the people subsequently employed to carry them to the capital, being attacked and plundered, most of their goods were eventually lost. Though the bearers of the supplies required by the Missionaries were but seldom plundered, the necessity of having every article sent from England or Mauritius, carried on men's shoulders for a distance of three hundred miles, added greatly to the expenses of the Mission, and often occasioned very serious delays, and other inconveniences, especially in reference to articles connected with their labours in the department of printing.

It has been stated, that a printing-press had been sent out from England; but in consequence of the death of Mr. Hovenden, no attempt was made to bring it into use, until the autumn of this year, when, although no practical knowledge of the art of printing existed among the Missionaries, it was hoped that they might succeed in a trial upon a small scale, by the help of books, which they were furnished with, as guides. The success of their first attempt was such, that they were encouraged to proceed in the printing of many useful books.

A considerable portion of the Scriptures being translated by Messrs. Jones and Griffiths, and part of them revised, it was agreed to commence the final revision of the whole, preparatory to their being printed in the Malagasy language.

Early in this year, Prince Corroller was commissioned by his majesty to visit the Betsileo country, as well as the Imamo and Vonizonga districts; and at the instance of Radama, he requested Mr. Jones to accompany him.

At several important stations, the subject of education was strenuously urged upon the attention of the head people, both by the prince and his companion; and the result was, that application was afterwards made to the Missionaries for the extension of schools in three other districts, where scholars for no less than fourteen schools were procured; the applications were cheerfully met by the Missionaries, as far as teachers could be supplied.

No natives had yet made direct application for the rite of Christian baptism, although there was ground to hope that the ordinance might, in some cases, be administered with propriety. No public measure, however, being adopted without the express sanction of the king, it was deemed most prudent to ascertain what were his wishes on this subject; and Mr. Jones was requested to seek an early opportunity of laying the subject before the consideration of Radama, and explaining to him the nature and design of the observance.

The period for the examination of the schools occurred at this time; but his majesty was very seriously indisposed, and had been so for some months, becoming gradually less able to attend to public business, and confining himself almost entirely to his own residence in town or country. Unable to sustain the fatigue of attending the public examination of the schools, he deputed Prince Corroller and some other officers to attend on the occasion, and bring home the report. The inspection of the progress of the scholars occupied nearly two days, and terminated much to the satisfaction of all parties.

At the close of the first day's examination, a message was delivered from the king, urging, as on former occasions, that those who were withdrawn from the schools should preserve the knowledge they had acquired, seek further

instruction, attend on Sundays at public worship, and continue to learn the catechism of the Scriptures; adding, that if any persons wished to be baptized or married by the Missionaries, they were at liberty to exercise their own will, and to act according to their own judgment in this respect.

During the spring of 1828, a course of lectures was commenced in the school at Tananarivo, intended to promote the religious knowledge of the senior youths, and to aid the teachers and native visitors in addressing the scholars in the country. The BEING and perfections of God were the first topics selected. On these occasions many of the youths wrote down the leading ideas at the time, and others proved the retentiveness of their memories, by afterwards expressing, in an audible manner, the great truths of revelation thus exhibited to their view. While instruction was in this manner conveyed to the mind, every suitable means was employed to impress the important truths thus communicated on the hearts and consciences of those to whom the lectures were addressed, and, it is hoped, not without salutary results.

The general state of the Mission at this period, is thus described in a letter from the Missionaries, dated at the capital on the 3d of March, 1828.

"The chapel is generally well attended three times on the Sabbath; viz. soon after sun-rise, by the scholars, for catechetical exercises, &c.; in the forenoon, for public worship; and in the afternoon, for the English and Madagasse Prayer-meeting: in addition to which, many of the scholars remain after the morning service, for the reading of the Scriptures.

"The report of the schools, which will be forwarded after the next annual examination, we fear will not present quite so encouraging an aspect as last year's, in consequence of the numbers in the schools not having been yet filled up by the respective officers of the districts, in the room of those withdrawn after the

last examination. The king wisely exercised his authority on this point with mildness, and prefers holding out inducements, rather than employing compulsion.

"The fact, that great numbers in this country, both of those actually in the schools, and of those who have left them, are now able to read, made us exceedingly anxious to employ some means to provide them with books, on however limited a scale. The disappointment felt on the lamented decease of Mr. Hovenden, you will easily judge of. His life was not spared long enough to put up the press. However, having employed Mr. Cameron to assist us in erecting it, we prepared it for work, and resolved on doing our best. Encouraged by the first attempts we made in the way of trial, we have proceeded in the work, and have issued from the press,—1500 reading lessons, consisting of the first twenty-three verses of the 1st chapter of Genesis, in Madagasse; a small impression of the Madagasse alphabet, for general distribution, to secure, by the king's direction, uniformity in the orthöepy of the language; 800 copies of a small volume of Madagasse hymns for public worship; and 2200 copies of a small spelling-book of sixteen pages.

"There is now in the press, a first catechism, which is nearly finished, and of which there will be 1500 copies; also, the Gospel by Luke, which is printed as far as the 8th chapter. The 1st of January, this year, (1828,) we employed in finally revising and putting to press the sheet containing the 1st chapter of Luke, wishing thus to hallow the new year of our missionary labours, by this service, in opening the fountain of living waters in the midst of this parched ground. May the healing streams, ere long, flow in a thousand channels through the wilderness, and transform it into the garden of the Lord!

"The king and the royal family have expressed themselves highly gratified with the introduction of the art of printing into Madagascar,—to circulate among the *Ambaniandro*, useful and religious knowledge. His majesty sent word, that six or eight youths might be selected to work at the press permanently.

In the postscript, dated April 18th, 1828, they thus refer to the death of Mr. Rowlands, one of the artisans connected with the Mission —

"We had hoped this communication might have been sent off, without announcing to you, illness or death; but the God in whose hands is our breath, and whose are all our ways, has ordained otherwise. Death has again visited our little circle. Mr. Rowlands came over from Angavo, to meet us at the Lord's table, on the first Sabbath in March. In consequence of heavy rains, he had to wade several times through water. In a few days after his arrival, he was seized with the Madagasse fever while at Mr. Cummin's. Having, in some degree, recovered, he went to spend a few days at Mr. Freeman's, where he continued to improve. He afterwards suffered a relapse, and fell into a profound stupor on the afternoon of the 3d of April. After remaining twenty-seven hours in that state, he breathed his last at seven o'clock on the evening of the 4th of April. His death has, we trust, proved his immense, his eternal gain."

Letters having been received by the members of the Mission from the Rev. D. Tyerman, and G. Bennet, Esq., a deputation from the London Missionary Society to the South Seas, and other parts of the world, stating their intention of proceeding from Mauritius to visit Madagascar during the favourable season of 1828, the Rev. D. Jones proceeded to Tamatave to meet them, and to render assistance in their journey to Imerina. Letters were also forwarded to Messrs Tyerman and Bennet, informing them of the best time and mode of visiting the country, as well as of the provisions necessary for the journey, and presents for the royal family. The party reached the capital on the 22d of July, 1328, the Rev. J. J. Freeman, with other members of the Mission, meeting them at Ambodinangavo, and accompanying them into the capital.

The deeply afflictive and inscrutably mysterious events which almost immediately succeeded their arrival, afforded the deputation but just time to inquire into the state of affairs at the capital, before the Mission family had the melancholy task of conveying to the tomb the remains of

their excellent, amiable, and intelligent friend, the Rev. Daniel Tyerman.

The dangers and severities of the journey proving too much for his bodily strength, had greatly depressed his natural spirits; so much so, that on hearing, on their way to the capital, of the increased illness of Radama, he proposed to his companion to return to the coast without delay. He was, however, induced to persevere; but it is more than probable, that this depression of mind, added to the insalubrity of the climate, greatly accelerated the disease, which, on the ninth day after his arrival, terminated fatally, and (as it would appear) to himself, as well as to his colleagues and his friends, unexpectedly.

The following record of his feelings on the evening of the day on which he arrived at the capital, extracted from the "Journal of the Voyages and Travels of the Deputation," edited by James Montgomery, Esq., will show the frame of mind under which he reviewed the experience of the Divine goodness. "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us. Oh! what gratitude we owe to God, for preserving us from all accidents during so long a journey, and allowing us to reach this city in the enjoyment of the best health, after traversing a country, which, at certain seasons, is so subject to fevers and disease. We are in the heart of this heathen land, but under the kind protecting wing of its sovereign. 'O for a heart more grateful for favours so many and great! To God be all the glory." Mr. Tyerman's death took place on the 30th of July, 1828, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

The health of Radama had, for more than a year previous to the month of July, 1828, been evidently declining, although, prior to that period, there had been little in his general appearance to indicate an early termination to his

valuable life. He had from a youth possessed a constitution, which, if not robust, was yet vigorous, and capable of enduring great exertion and fatigue. It is probable that his strength had been, in some degree, undermined by exposure to disease in the fever districts of Madagascar, as he had frequently visited, not only the eastern coast in the unhealthy season, but travelled in the north, and in the Sakalava countries, where natives from the interior are not less liable to disease than Europeans.

It is much to be lamented, that during the last few years of his life, Radama had formed habits of irregularity and self-indulgence, which, more than any other circumstance, tended to accelerate disease; and to this, combined with the want of medical aid, or rather the adoption of the Malagasy mode of treatment in the early stage of his disorder, may be attributed the early termination of his promising and eventful career.

At the time when he last visited Tamatave, disease had made inroads in his constitution, which it was impossible for his friends to observe without concern, although no alarming apprehensions were then entertained as to any immediate result. It is more than probable that the irregularities and amusements pursued at Tamatave, more than counterbalanced any benefit arising from the change of air, and the slight degree of medical advice he obtained from Europeans there. On his return to Tananarivo in the month of November, he was less capable of attending to official duties than had been usual with him, and also less disposed to appear in public.

Various events which occurred in the country about this time, of a nature far from gratifying to the king, had also an unfavourable effect upon his health, by their tendency to irritate and distract his mind, when the utmost composure

and freedom from anxiety were essential to his convalescence.

As the spring of 1828 advanced, Radama evidently became more feeble, and the progress of disease was more obvious. During the months of May and June, many fears were entertained as to the fatal termination of his disorder; and these fears were confirmed, rather than alleviated, by the studied concealment observed in those who were known to be acquainted with the facts of the case. It was publicly known that the king was unwell, but the only specific report was, that he suffered from a severe catarrh, attended with sore throat.

He had always manifested great concern for the advancement of education, but was unable to attend the examination of the schools. His majesty had frequently expressed a lively interest in the arrival of Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, on a visit to himself and the Mission at his capital; but when they reached Tananarivo, he was too ill to be able to receive them. Mr. Jones had one interview with him after that time, but could scarcely recognize his features, or comprehend the few expressions which with great difficulty he uttered. In the course of two days from the time of this interview, Radama breathed his last. This melancholy event took place on the afternoon of July 27th, 1828.

The circumstance, however, was studiously concealed from public notice, intimations being given that the king was improving, and the royal band continuing to play every afternoon in the court-yard, for the purpose of quieting all suspicions.

On Tuesday the 29th, a public kabary was held for administering the oath of fidelity "*to whomsoever the king might be pleased to appoint as his successor in the govern-*

ment ;" statements being made at the time, that the king had wished this measure to be adopted in consequence of his increased illness. It was a day of deep interest. Much, indeed, seemed to depend upon the nomination of the successor, not only as a measure connected with the internal peace of the country, but with the prosecution or abandonment of all those plans originated by Radama for the improvement of the condition of his people. Nor were the members of the Mission amongst those who were least interested in a decision so likely to influence the whole of their future labours, and even their continuance in that country.

The utmost order and tranquillity were preserved in the town, yet it was not difficult to discover, beyond this, a deep but silent emotion, universally pervading all ranks of society; an inward and suppressed agitation in every bosom, anxiously awaiting the time when it might be permitted to find expression.

At this critical juncture, Robert Lyall, esq., the successor of Mr. Hastie as British agent, arrived at the capital. This gentleman having received the appointment from the British government, arrived with his family at Mauritius in the summer of 1827. Hearing that Radama was expected to visit the coast, he proceeded to Tamatave, where he was introduced to the king; but as the time was unfavourable for entering the country or proceeding to the capital, he returned to Mauritius, and remained there till the return of the season suitable for journeying to the interior. On his way he received tidings of the illness of Radama, and hastened with all possible despatch to the capital, but did not arrive until the 1st of August, when the king's death had actually taken place, although the fact had not been announced to the people.

On the morning of the first of August, the great question was decided. By break of day, the shouts of an immense body of people were heard, even at a great distance from the court-yard, indicating that some important measure had been adopted; and it was immediately afterwards rumoured that the queen Ranavalona had been placed on the throne. The first official intimation of the demise of Radama, conveyed to the Europeans at the capital, and, of course, to the members of the Mission, was involved in the message sent to them from the new sovereign, which they received at a moment of deep interest, while attending the funeral of their departed guest and friend, the Rev. D. Tyerman.

Orders having been issued for a general kabary to be held at the capital on the 3rd of August, immense crowds of natives flocked to Tananarivo from all parts of the surrounding country, to the distance of many miles. So vast was the influx of people, that a gentleman then present, and lately arrived from India, remarked, that he could compare it only with the multitudes collected there at the festivals of Juggernaut. Almost every eligible spot of ground in the vicinity of the capital was occupied by people from the country, who pitched their tents, or erected temporary sheds for the occasion. This concourse lasted from the great kabary, on the 3rd, until the 13th, the day after the funeral.

On the 3rd of August the official proclamation was made that the king had "*retired*"—"*had gone to his fathers*," and that the successor, appointed by his father, was Ranavalona, previously known as the senior wife of Radama. Directions were also published, respecting the ceremonies to be used in honour of the deceased monarch, and as demonstrations of the public grief. Amongst the principal orders issued to this effect, were the following:

"That all, of every rank and age, male and female, should shave the head. The only exceptions to this order were the queen, a few of her personal attendants, the keepers of the idols, and the Europeans.

"That the females belonging to the capital, and those from the country, according to their respective districts, should 'mitomany'—weep, presenting themselves at the court-yard, the head being shaven, and the shoulders uncovered, prostrating themselves near the palace, and uttering doleful lamentations. That no showy dress of any kind be worn, nor any ornaments used, nor the body nor the head anointed with any unguent, nor the lamba suffered to trail on the ground, nor a hat to be worn, nor any looking-glass used.

"That no one should wear any dress besides the native lamba. This not to be worn dirty, as on former occasions. The king had loved cleanliness, and the people might, therefore, wash their clothes.

"That no one should ride a horse, nor be carried in a chair.

"That none should weave silk, nor make pottery, nor work in the precious metals, nor manufacture sugar.

"That none should work as carpenters, nor write, nor plait hats.

"That none should salute one another when meeting; nor play any kind of instrument, nor dance, nor sing.

"That none should be seen holding conversation together, and that all licentiousness among the married and unmarried be strictly avoided, in the day-time.

"That none be permitted to lie on a bed, but on the ground only; nor even to sit on a chair or use any tables."

The shaving was to be repeated three or four times, at intervals to be specified by public notice.

Working in the rice-grounds was to be permitted, lest by any neglect a famine should arise.

Radama's law against the use of any spirituous liquors, was recognised and confirmed, and the penalty of decapitation threatened for any violation of it.

All natives passing by were required to dip their hand in water, kept in a canoe at the corner of the palace, and made sacred by a quantity of earth, from the tomb of the king's father, being mixed with it. A small quantity was ordered to be put on the top of the head, and some was swallowed; the whole of this ceremony being considered a solemn oath of allegiance.

These regulations were not merely issued nominally, as on former occasions, but so strictly enforced, that any deviation from them would subject the transgressor to the displeasure of the government, and be resented both as an affront to the memory of the departed monarch, and the authority of his successor.

Although nominally the domestic establishment of Radama included twelve queens, he had but one wife who was recognized as the queen; this was Rasalimo, the daughter of the king of the Sakalavas. Rasalimo still lives at the capital, and receives considerable attention from Ranavalona who assumed the sovereignty. Rasalimo is the mother of Raketaka, Radama's only surviving child, a daughter now about fourteen years of age. His first child is said to have died; but grounds are not wanting for suspicion that cruel means were used to destroy the infant, in order to secure the succession to the crown for Rakotobe, the nephew of the king. The reigning queen, Ranavalona, has a son who is called the son of Radama, although born about twelve months after the king's death.

The death of Radama, whether viewed in relation to the

peculiar circumstances of the nation, to his having scarcely attained the age which is ordinarily regarded as the meridian of life, or the irregularities by which there is reason to fear it was accelerated, was regarded with the deepest regret by natives and foreigners.

The following description of the person, and brief sketch of Radama, was written by one of the native chiefs, Prince Corroller, (since deceased,) and is considered by many as in general correct:

"In person, Radama was about five feet, French, in height, slender and small in his limbs and body, his figure in general being well-proportioned. His colour was olive, his head round, his face oval, the features not strongly marked, and the expression generally agreeable or smiling. Radama's hair was of jet black, strong and curling, his forehead not very prominent, nor remarkable except for a whitish scar across it caused by a fall from his horse; his eyes were small and sparkling, with remarkably fine eyebrows and eye-lashes; his nose, though flatter than that of Europeans, was much less so than is common in his country. His forehead and mouth were not remarkable, except that his under-lip was large, thick, and drooping. He was in the habit of laughing very loudly when excited by mirth, and his cheeks were then deeply indented, giving him an appearance of great merriment. His ears were small, and had been pierced for the purpose of occasionally inserting ear-rings. He was broad and square across the shoulders, but very small in the waist. He had a pretty hand, small feet, and fair skin.

"Radama was extremely affable, his conversation sweet and agreeable,—indeed, so attractive as to deceive a stranger on his first interview. His mind was subtle and cunning, but very cheerful. He was a man of very extensive natural

genius, and very inquisitive for information. He was exceedingly proud, vain-glorious, pompous on public occasions, ostentatious, arbitrary, and so accessible to flattery, that his people at length saluted him as God, which he allowed without displeasure. He was of a lively but angry temper, and easily offended. He was a famous hunter, a good marksman, and a noble, majestic horseman, especially on any grand and pompous occasion. Brave, intrepid, and impetuous—these very qualities made him sometimes commit acts of horrible cruelty and injustice, because he could not bear the least opposition to his will and opinion by any person whatever, either in word or deed. He was so jealous of his absolute authority, as to render him suspicious of his first and favourite generals, towards whom he was lavish of his kindness and his condescension, except when the strictness of his military laws required him to inflict punishment for crimes. He would never allow of any advice, or any remarks made upon what he had said or done, unless he asked for it; and if any one had dared to counsel him, or made any observation unrequested, he would have driven him away with violence. He would never submit to a superior, nor argue with a rival: rather than this, he would have preferred fighting to death, sword in hand. He encouraged spies and informers, of whom he employed many, and often went in disguise himself about the town, to listen to what his people were talking of in their own houses in the evening; and, although a strict observer of his own word and signature, he would not unfrequently sacrifice justice to political interest. Towards the latter years of his life, he was addicted to feasting and drinking to excess; and he indulged himself in nocturnal amusements, by having a great number of men and women dancing and singing before him. Indeed, so regardless was

he of all propriety and order in these respects, that the riotous pleasures in which he indulged tended greatly to injure his health and shorten his life. He was extremely fond of wearing gaudy and showy dress, but was always clean in his person. He was not avaricious in the expenditure of money upon his own vanity and pomp, though naturally covetous, and sometimes mean. In journeying through the country, or in his campaigns with his army, he was generous in the distribution of rice, oxen, and other provisions; and whenever any tribes arrived to pay him their homage, he acted kindly and generously towards them, receiving them in the most flattering manner, with all pomp and magnificence. His ruling desire being to be praised abroad in the world, many strangers who only paid a short visit to Radama received an impression somewhat too favourable of his general character. If, in the presence of a respectable European, he gave way to a fit of violent passion, and this individual seriously asked, 'Sire, what are you going to do? What will the public gazettes and historians relate concerning you, if you commit such acts of injustice as will tarnish your glory for ever?'—he would not only become calm and reasonable, but, thanking the European for the reproof, would often commute death for imprisonment, and perhaps even pardon the offender. He had brilliant talents to fight and to conquer, but not so much to govern, by protecting the welfare of a conquered people; and amongst his military officers, he not only introduced a great deal of useless pomp, but also great immorality. Instead of studying to obtain his revenue from agriculture, commerce, and industry, or by encouraging the introduction of useful trades, he depended upon the spoils of war and plunder for the support of his kingdom. He never studied so much how to civilize Madagascar, as

how to conquer it, believing that conquering was a higher glory; for French slave-dealers had spoken so much of the glory of Napoleon as a warrior and a conqueror, that it became his highest ambition to imitate his example. Being exceedingly jealous and suspicious, he was afraid to make roads from the interior of his country to the sea-coast, to facilitate commerce; and even dreaded to have too many foreign artists and tradesmen in Imerina, lest they should act as spies, to prepare the way for some foreign power to enter, and rob him of his kingdom at some future time."

In addition to these remarks, Mr. Freeman has justly observed, that though the character of Radama was, in some measure, formed by circumstances, yet whatever had been his actual condition or career in life, he would still have been a man of keen perception, shrewd judgment, and deliberate resolution; he would still have possessed quick feelings, natural ardour, and vigorous promptitude in action. His superiority to many of the puerile superstitions of his country, his firmness in adhering to plans calculated to elevate the physical and moral condition of his own people, and his faithfulness in maintaining his treaties, were prominent traits in his character, of which frequent demonstrations are afforded in the history of his eventful life. His fondness for show, parade, and pleasure, unfortunately increased with his knowledge of European manners; and this, as has already been stated, induced habits of indulgence so prejudicial to his health and happiness, that it seemed as if nothing less than infatuation prompted him to persevere, when he must have known that the course he was pursuing would prove fatal. In other respects, and under other circumstances, Radama was not deficient in self-possession and decision.

With the limited education he had been able to obtain, and the irregular and incidental means of information he possessed, Radama had certainly acquired what, under such circumstances, amounted to a respectable degree of intelligence. This, however, was so partial as to produce an impression that his mind was rather capable of being furnished, than actually well stored; and that his capacity for knowledge was combined with a keenness of perception and natural shrewdness, which might have been rendered available for great intellectual attainments, had the early circumstances of his life been more favourable for such cultivation.

Whether Madagascar ever possessed a prince of equal talent before him, may be questioned; but there can be no doubt that it never possessed one who did so much towards the improvement of his country. None of his predecessors possessed so large an extent of territory, nor entered into foreign alliances of so durable and important a nature: none afforded so much encouragement to the civilization of his country; and though it is a fact much to be lamented, that he neither understood Christianity, nor valued it for its own sake, he gave it the royal sanction by favouring the labours of its friends, for the sake of the civil benefits which he anticipated in connexion with its introduction and extension in his empire.

The reign of Radama constitutes an epoch in the history of Madagascar, too important ever to be lost sight of. Important as regards its alliance with Great Britain, the suppression of the slave-trade, the adoption of a general system of education, and the introduction of Christianity into the very heart of the country; while the subjugation of nearly the whole island, the formation of a large native army on the European model, the reduction of the language to con-

siderable form and order, the establishment of a printing-press at the capital, and the diffusion of numerous branches of art and science from enlightened countries, are events which give a marked character to that period, and to the history of the sovereign under whose auspices they occurred. Had the king been better instructed in the principles of good government, had he sought the stability of his throne in the prosperity of his subjects; had he endeavoured to increase and protect their property, and abolished the system of oppressive exaction which renders every kind of service to the government a species of unrequited slavery, instead of increasing their burdens to augment his own wealth, or support his multiplied armies, the foundation of his greatness would have rested on a basis far more solid than the tinsel glitter of military fame or personal aggrandisement, which appeared to be the chief objects of his life.

With the death of the king, the whole aspect of missionary affairs was changed at the capital of Madagascar; yet, while a deep interest, and anxiety perhaps beyond the power of words to describe, affected the minds of those who had engaged in the work of diffusing the blessings of Christianity amongst the people, such was the delicacy, and even danger, of their situation at this period, that they scarcely ventured to transmit to their friends any circumstantial account of their real situation. The peculiar trials and painful apprehensions with which it was attended, rendered such accounts, if not impracticable, yet highly inexpedient. Thus it occurs, that of the period when the deepest feeling has prevailed, the slightest record has been preserved.

It is stated by Mr. Freeman, that the great public kabary, already described, at which Ranavalona was proclaimed

queen, with the state of the town during the following week or ten days, rendered it inexpedient for the Missionaries and their friends to assemble for public worship, until, after the funeral of his majesty, on the 12th of August. A funeral discourse was then preached in English, at the chapel, by Rev. J. J. Freeman, from 2 Samuel, xxiii. 5. No public service could be held in the native language, on account of the national customs connected with the mourning on the death of the sovereign.

The suspension of all public duties and services during the mourning, and especially during the early part of it, was extended to all the schools, whether in town or country; in consequence of this, it appeared that nothing more could be done by Mr. Bennet in the investigation of that department of the Madagascar Mission. He was able, however, to hold several meetings with the Missionaries, for the arrangement of business relating to their affairs—an object to which Mr. Tyerman had been able to attend for three evenings prior to his decease. These engagements drawing to a close, a request was presented by Mr. Bennet, that he might be permitted to have an interview with her majesty. But this was declined, on the ground of its being contrary to the customs of the country, which required that a new sovereign should appear in public to the natives, before receiving a visit from a foreigner.

As it appeared that no further benefit could be secured to the Mission by the sojourn of Mr. Bennet at the capital, he was desirous of proceeding to the coast on his way to Mauritius, and for this purpose, the usual application was made to the Malagasy government. Her majesty replied *she was the sovereign of the time of his departure.* It is believed that this decision arose out of some political arrangements which rendered it, in the view of her advisers,

inexpedient at that time to admit of any communication with the coast, except through the immediate organs of the new government. Mr. Bennet was, therefore, called upon to exercise no small degree of parience,—and for how long a period, it was impossible to calculate.

It is stated by Mr. Bennet, in a letter to his friend Mr. Montgomery, that in the morning after the funeral of Radama, he received a message to this purport:—"I told you, that when the time came that you should go to Tamatave, I should inform you. I shall send seven hundred soldiers to Tamatave: they set out to-morrow, and they will guard you." With great difficulty leave was obtained for Mr. Griffiths, one of the Missionaries, to accompany Mr. Bennet to the coast, and then it was only on condition that he should leave his wife and children behind, and promise not to quit Madagascar. Mr. and Mrs. Cummings being also desirous of availing themselves of an opportunity of going to Mauritius, were permitted to leave the island, and the party accordingly set out for the coast at the time appointed by the queen.

"At Ambohitamango, about the middle of our journey," says Mr. Bennet, "we learned that Prince Rataffe and his wife, (the nearest in blood to the late king, the latter being Radama's eldest sister, were in that village on their way to the metropolis, whither they had been summoned by the new government. We saw, at once, that they were 'going into the tiger's mouth.' They came to dine with us, and food was indeed many hours before us, but none touched a morsel. The interview was painful, and attended with peril to all. They felt that their death-warrant was sealed; and when they heard that their hopeful but unfortunate son had been slain, to paint the agony expressed in their countenances,

is beyond the power of language; and, as no words can describe it, so no time can erase the picture from my recollection. They asked advice; but what advice could we offer? They proposed to escape to the coast, in the hope of finding some vessel to carry them to Mauritius. I assured them that the governor would give them protection till an arrangement could be made for their safe return to Madagascar. The prince, at parting, presented me with his silk lamba, or mantle, desiring that I would remember them."

The son of Rataffe was among the most nearly related to Radama; he was heir-apparent to the throne, and it was always understood to be the wish of the king that he should be his successor. He was friendly to the education of the people, and the promotion of European arts. There were also evidences that his mind had been enlightened and his heart changed by the power of divine grace; and this, perhaps, was one of the causes why he was destroyed. Rataffe and his princess, knowing their own doom inevitable, if they could not escape the murderers of their child, made their way to the coast, and endeavoured to prevail on the master of a vessel trading between Madagascar and the Isle of France with bullocks, to remove them from the island, but were unsuccessful. Mammon completed what malignant cruelty had devised. A ship for Mauritius was found on the coast; any sum was offered for a passage for the unhappy prince and princess. Its certain payment was guaranteed by an English gentleman of high respectability, but the mercenary and unfeeling captain was deaf to all the entreaties of the prince and his friends. A passage was obstinately refused; the hard-hearted ship-master alleging, that if he favoured the escape of the prince, his interest

would suffer in future, and the authorities on the coast would not allow him to obtain a cargo whenever he might return.

Hoping to succeed in escaping by some other vessel, the prince wrote the following affecting letter to the governor of Mauritius, in order to secure his protection, should he reach that island.

"To his Excellency, Sir CHARLES COLVILLE, Governor of the Mauritius, &c."

"SIR,

"I beg leave to state to you, Sir, that my trouble is so great, and my sorrow is sorrow inconceivable, occasioned by the death of Radama, my brother-in-law. It is well known that I am a prince of Imamo, the western part of Imerina, the original kingdom of king Radama's father, and my wife Rabodosahondro, is the eldest child of Andrianimpoina, Radama's father, and of Rambolamasoandro, Radama's mother. I being the direct descendant of the principal chiefs of the western part of Imerina, and my wife, Rabodosahondro, the direct descendant of the chiefs of the eastern parts of Imerina; and in order to unite the kingdom, the king, Radama's father, requested that we should marry, and my son was intended to succeed him to the throne. But Radama, bearing hard upon the people, to improve them in knowledge and civilize his country—and also seeing the youth, my son, attending the school, and improving very fast—the old people and the judges did not like that any of Radama's relations should reign, as he died without appointing a successor.

"My feelings are such, that I would prefer to be put under the earth, or take my flight to another country, rather than be reduced in my rank. If I and my wife should arrive at the Mauritius, I pray your government's protection and assistance. I well know that your government does not wish to have an inch of ground in our country, but have the most liberal and kind wishes. To teach our people in knowledge, and that to improve our country in civilization, is your government's aim.

"If it ever be in my power to meet your wishes, I shall never forget your government and people.

"I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect,

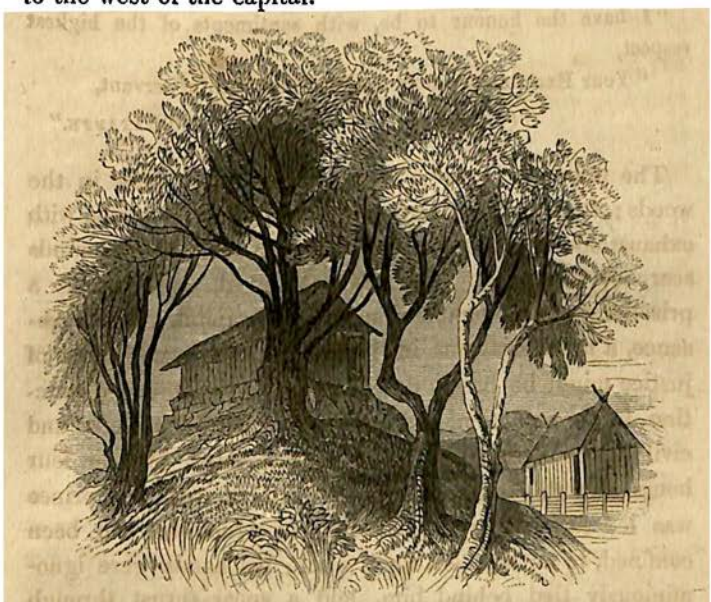
"Your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servant,

(Signed,) "RATAFFE."

The unhappy fugitives then sought concealment in the woods; there, while sleeping in a small hut, overcome with exhaustion and fatigue, it is said the royal blood-hounds searched them out. Rataffe was seized, and brought a prisoner to the neighbourhood of the capital. In his absence, a mock trial was instituted, that the sacred name of justice might be basely desecrated, to give pretended sanction to assassination, and a public court of military and civil judges declared him guilty of disloyalty. Within four hours after this declaration of his guilt, the unhappy prince was led forth from the building in which he had been confined, to an adjacent field, where his hands were ignominiously tied behind him, and a spear thrust through his heart. He was buried on the spot; and the amiable princess, his wife, was shortly afterwards banished, and subsequently assassinated by spearing, in a manner that destroyed also the infant, of which, had she lived, it was expected she would have become the mother.

Thus perished, on the 6th of October, 1828, Prince Rataffe, the head of one of the noblest families of Madagascar, and thus was sacrificed to jealousy and cruelty his amiable wife, Radama's eldest sister. Their only crime was, that they were the immediate descendants of the ancestors of Radama, and were favourable to the education and improvement of the people. Their bodies were afterwards carried to Imamo, and buried among the sepulchres of their

fathers, at a small village on the borders of the lake Itasy, to the west of the capital.



TOMB OF THE ANCESTORS OF PRINCE RATAFFE.

Rafaralahy, the shrewd, enterprising, and intrepid chief of Foule Point, was put to death about the same time, on the frivolous pretence of not having been sufficiently prompt in shaving his head, and assuming the required badges of mourning for the late sovereign.

About this time, it is supposed, Andriansolo fled to one of the small islands on the eastern coast, and thus, in all probability, escaped being added to the catalogue of those whose assassination has caused the usurpation of the throne by Ranavalona to be so deeply and indelibly stained with innocent blood, and which, with her subsequent oppression of her subjects, and cruel and barbarous destruction of human life, has rendered her reign awfully terrible in the annals of Madagascar.

CHAP. XV

Notice of the Malagasy youths sent to England for education, and of those sent to Mauritius, and on board of British ships-of-war—Arrival of Mr. Baker in Madagascar—Re-opening of the schools after the season of public mourning—Altered policy of the native government—The treaty with the English government annulled, and the equivalent declined—Refusal to receive the British agent—Outrageous conduct towards the British agent—Reasons assigned for the treatment of Mr. Lyall—Coronation of the queen—The procession—Public invocation of the idols—The queen's address to the people—Public recognition of the queen by the nobles, officers, and people—Appearance and dress of the queen—Threatened invasion of Imerina—Rumour of a hostile expedition from France—Return of the troops from the south—Wretchedness and degradation of the prisoners—Arrival of the French ships off Tamatave—Attack upon the town, and defeat of the Hovas—Arrival of troops from the capital—Negociation with the French—Ravages of the fever among the Europeans—Departure of the French from the coast—Efforts of the government to restore the influence of idolatry in the country—Departure of Mr. Freeman from Madagascar—Afflictive circumstances of his journey and embarkation—Vigorous efforts of the Missionaries to provide books for the people—Encouraging attention of the people to instruction—Departure of Mr. Jones on a visit to England.

Ever since the visit of Prince Rataffe to England in 1821, considerable interest had been felt in the nine Malagasy youths who accompanied him, and who were confided by the British government to the care of the London Missionary Society. These youths were placed for education, in the first instance, at the British and Foreign School in London. The failure of health, and other circumstances, rendered it necessary that one of them should very shortly afterwards leave our shores; the rest were

subsequently removed to the neighbourhood of Manchester, where they were instructed in useful arts, and their education was completed under the judicious and paternal superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Clunie. Two died in this country; the rest embarked for Madagascar at different periods. Volave and Thotoos left England in the month of August, in this year, viz. 1828, and reached their native shores in the spring of the following year.

Gratifying hopes of the piety of more than one of these interesting strangers, and especially of Drinave, who died at Manchester, were entertained by the Christian friends with whom they most frequently associated; and Verkey, on a public profession of the Christian faith, was baptized at Surrey Chapel, London. Of the nine youths, two died here, one returned to his own country shortly after his arrival, the rest at different periods.

Besides the youths sent to England, ten others were sent to the Mauritius for instruction. By virtue of the same stipulation in the treaty with Radama, already mentioned, these ten were put to the following trades, viz. carpenters, gold and silver smiths, smiths, painters, and shoemakers. Ten others were sent afterwards, together with an additional number to be taught instrumental music, so as to form a band for his majesty after the European model.

About fifty Malagasy youths have also, since the conclusion of the treaty for abolishing the slave-trade, been placed on board his Britannic majesty's ships, to be instructed in the art of navigation. The entire expense of the whole was borne by the British government, which also contributed towards the promotion of civilization in the island, by the instruction of the natives in useful arts.

Though the death of Mr. Hovenden, who had been sent

out in charge with the printing-press, deeply affected the Missionaries, and destroyed the hopes they had cherished of promoting the more rapid diffusion of knowledge among the people, they endeavoured, with the assistance of natives, to print, though under many disadvantages, a number of first lessons for the schools, and other small elementary books. In the mean time, an intelligent, active, and well-qualified individual, Mr. Edward Baker, having been engaged by the Missionary Society to succeed Mr. Hovenden, left England in May, 1828, three months before the last of the natives embarked for their native land, and reached the shores of Madagascar on the 3d of the following September, two days before Mr. Bennet arrived at Tamatave on his way to Mauritius. Though deeply afflicted by the account of recent events at the capital, and the unfavourable state of the country, Mr. Baker was desirous of proceeding to his appointed station, and felt grateful for the aid and society of Mr. Griffiths, in company with whom he proceeded to the capital.

The customs of Madagascar requiring a total cessation from all ordinary labours and amusements during the period of general mourning for Radama, the people were not allowed to engage in any occupation. An exception was, by a special edict, made in favour of the culture of rice, in order to avert a famine; but as attendance at the schools had been classed among the amusements, they also were discontinued. Radama had allowed a number of youths to assist in the printing, and also in the transcribing for the use of schools; application was made that these might work during the season of mourning; and as the government decided that transcribing was neither learning nor teaching, the youths were permitted to aid both in transcribing and printing.

Deprived of all public means of usefulness, the Missionaries directed their united efforts, during the remainder of the year, to the preparation of elementary and other useful books, and the translation of portions of the Holy Scriptures into the native language, more particularly the New Testament, a work in which they had long been anxious to engage, and to which, ever since the year 1823, considerable attention had already been given. While the Missionaries were thus employed, Mr. Baker kept the press in active and efficient operation, and a larger supply of books was thereby provided than the Mission ever before possessed.

These labours occupied the Missionaries during the remainder of the year, being the only engagements connected with their object, which the superstitions of the people allowed them to pursue. Twelve months was the usual duration of public mourning on the death of a sovereign, but towards the end of December, six months only after the death of Radama, the government deemed it expedient so far to dispense with the customary observances, as to allow, or rather order, the schools to be opened, and the work of education to be resumed, though on a scale less extensive than formerly, when nearly one hundred schools had been established, and between four and five thousand scholars instructed. Even this proceeding, favourable as it may appear, seems to have been adopted with a view of meeting existing, and providing for the future exigencies of the government, rather than from any regard to the improvement of the people: for scarcely had the schools been assembled, than an augmentation of the military forces of the government was resolved upon, and about 700 of the native teachers and senior scholars were drawn from the schools to serve as recruits for the army. This

proceeding of government naturally increased the apprehensions of the people, as to the ultimate designs with which the schools had been established, and made them less willing than ever to send their children for instruction.

The prohibition of the schools in the villages where the national idols were kept, indicated also the influence of the idolatrous parties in the government, and operated unfavourably for the cause of education among an ignorant and servile people, ruled by superstitious fear and military despotism. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that from the time of Radama's death the cause of education had been rapidly declining; and although the queen had ordered that the scholars should resume their studies, and the school-houses be thoroughly repaired, there were not, at the close of 1829, half the number under instruction, that there had been eighteen months before.

Ranavalona, on ascending the throne, sent a message to the Missionaries, and the foreigners residing at the capital, assuring them of her intention to govern the kingdom upon the principles adopted by Radama, to carry forward the great plans of education and public improvement which he had commenced, and to continue all the encouragement he had shown them; the queen had also solemnly repeated this on receiving the oath of allegiance from the people; yet it soon became evident that these professions were not to be depended upon—that the queen was either insincere when she made them, or, which is equally probable, that the counsellors of another line of policy had gained the ascendency in the government. This was very clearly shown by one of the earliest public acts of the government, which at once exhibited the entireness of the change contemplated, and the determination with which it was made. The usage of the country during the period of national

mourning, suspending all ordinary pursuits, repressed all public movements among the people, relieved the government from public business, and enabled those who had, with hands deeply stained with innocent blood, placed Ranavalona on the throne, to mature the plans by which they had determined to maintain the power they had assumed, and to govern the country.

Imagining themselves sufficiently firm in the position they had taken, their first public act was to annul Radama's treaty with the British government. According to the stipulations of that treaty, an annual supply of articles for the use of the native government was to be furnished by England as an equivalent for the loss sustained by the abolition of the slave-trade; and a British agent was to reside at the capital of Madagascar. On the death of Mr. Hastie, Robert Lyall, Esq. was appointed to succeed him, and proceeded immediately to Madagascar. He reached the island in the autumn of 1827. At Tamatave he met Radama, by whom he was received with the respect to which his office entitled him; but on account of the unfavourable season of the year, he did not proceed to the capital till the following July. When he arrived at Tananarivo, he was received with salutes of cannon, and other marks of attention from the government, but had no opportunity of presenting his credentials, or holding official intercourse with the government, as the death of Radama, which occurred at the time, suspended all public business that was not connected with the royal funeral, the national mourning, or the recognition of the successor to the throne.

In these circumstances Mr. Lyall and his family remained at the capital until the 29th of November, 1828, when an official message was brought to him by the officers of the palace, to the effect, that the queen did not feel herself

bound by the treaty of Radama, and that she would not receive him as the agent of the British government. In answer to his inquiries respecting a proceeding so unexpected, and affecting so extensively the objects contemplated by the king of England as well as to the Malagasy, another communication was sent, four days afterwards, informing him that the queen declined receiving any longer the equivalent which the British government had been accustomed to send to Radama, although she did not intend to revive the slave-trade in her kingdom. The latter part of this message allayed, in some degree, the fears of the Missionaries and others, as to the immediate intentions of the government to renew the traffic in slaves, to which they had regarded the rejection of the treaty, and the dismissal of the British agent, as only preparatory. The season was unfavourable for leaving the capital, and although no official relations subsisted between Mr. Lyall and the government, he continued to reside at the capital, and had occasional interviews with the officers of government, on matters connected with the British traders or residents, and was always treated, personally, with attention and respect.

Early in the year 1829, as the season, which was favourable for travelling to the coast, advanced, Mr. Lyall intimated his wish to proceed to Tamatave. The answer of the government was, "He is to go, and his family with him." About a fortnight afterwards, viz. on the 29th of March, he was alarmed by a large multitude of people coming to his house at six o'clock in the morning, headed by the keepers of the idol Ramahavaly, one of whom carried the idol on a long pole. One of Mr. Lyall's servants had been seized and put in irons, himself and his sons were treated as sorcerers, and peremptorily ordered to leave the house, and proceed to the village of Ambohipeno, about six miles

distant. He was not allowed to change his linen, to take any packages, or even to enter his house to take leave of his family. The court-yard of his house was filled with serpents, large bags-full of which had been brought and emptied out on the ground. These reptiles are the imagined servants of the idol Ramahavaly, and the executors of his anger; and it was desired that the people should regard the number then brought to the immediate vicinity of Mr. Lyall's dwelling, as drawn to the spot by the influence of the idol, and hence they were held up by the priests as indications of the power and anger of Ramahavaly. Mr. Lyall was told that the idol had ordered him to leave, and was come to send him away; and thus he was rudely hurried off on foot, the priest refusing to allow him to ride to the village where he was to wait the further intimations of the idol's will. As he was led away, the keeper of the idol Ramahavaly walked after him, carrying on the top of a pole the idol, enveloped in a small covering of scarlet cloth; fifty athletic men, either the keepers of the idol, or the relatives of such, followed immediately after, walking two abreast, and having their bodies uncovered to the waist, each man bearing in his hand a serpent, which he held by means of a small quantity of grass or straw. They were attended by a great number of the votaries of the Ramahavaly,—or spectators, whose attention had been excited by their novel proceedings.

The procession moved along in the most profound silence, the men carrying the serpents frequently lifting up the hand in which the reptile was held, exhibiting it, as it had twined its slimy folds round his hand or arm, to the great terror of the spectators, who expected that this manifestation of what they were taught to regard as Ramahavaly's anger, would be followed by still more serious consequences

to the British agent. Mr. Lyall and his eldest son, who accompanied him, could scarcely expect any thing less than a fatal termination of proceedings commenced with such fanatical and superstitious violence, commanded and continued under the pretended influence of supernatural power, and the distress of Mrs. Lyall, who was but in a feeble state of health, was exceedingly severe.

Mr. Freeman, one of the Missionaries, hearing of what was going forward, hastened to the place, and found that orders had been received that Mrs. Lyall and the rest of the family should follow with all their effects without delay. Having obtained from the officers and judges at the capital, permission to employ bearers, and delay for a time their departure, Mr. Freeman proceeded to the village whither Mr. Lyall had been driven; but after a few minutes' conversation with him, was ordered away. In a few days Mrs. Lyall and family followed to Ambohipeno, and on the 22d of April they set out on their journey to Tamatave.

The reason assigned for the outrage upon the person and family of the British agent was, that he had proceeded himself, and had allowed his horse to approach one of the villages regarded as sacred to the idol, and which no horse or pig was allowed to enter; and that he had further transgressed, by sending his servants to catch butterflies and serpents, which he was collecting for scientific purposes. Radama had encouraged naturalists from Mauritius, and elsewhere, and no prohibition of these pursuits had been made public. The government pretended that the whole had been done at the bidding of the idol, and thus endeavoured to avert any unpleasant consequences that might result. While it is supposed to have adopted this mode of relieving itself of the presence of one who was by no means a welcome observer of its policy and measures,

Mr. Lyall proceeded to Mauritius, where he died shortly afterwards. The treatment he received at the hand of the native government was severely censured by the secretary of state for the colonies at the time, by command of the prince regent; and the authorities in Madagascar were warned against a repetition of their conduct. Mr. Lyall's servant was liberated, after having been confined nine days in irons, as this was deemed sufficient to inspire the natives with the dreadful anger of the idols, and to show that his restrictions were not to be violated with impunity.

It has been already observed, that twelve months was the usual period of mourning for a sovereign in Madagascar; but for special reasons, the government was induced to order that the mourning for Radama should cease at the end of ten months: it closed accordingly at the 27th of May, 1829, and the people resumed their ordinary avocations.

Preparations were now made for the coronation of Ranavalona, which was observed with a degree of barbaric splendour, in perfect keeping with that which attended the funeral of her predecessor.

The following account of the pageant and ceremonies has been furnished by Mr. Jones, who was present on the occasion:

On Thursday, the 11th of June, the firing of cannon at six o'clock in the evening,* on the west side of the palace, announced the beginning of the day of coronation, on which Ranavalona was to be publicly recognized as sovereign, and to receive the homage of the people. On Friday the 12th, at the dawn of the morning, or the 12th hour of the Malagasy day, fourteen cannons were fired as a signal for the people

* The Malagasy day begins at 6 P.M., and not at midnight.

to prepare themselves, and proceed to Andohalo, where the great national assembly was to be held. At half-past ten in the forenoon, the drums and trumpets called the military to their appointed stations; and at twelve o'clock the beating of drums and the flourishing of trumpets called the generals and first military officers in the northern court opposite the Tranavola, (Silver-palace,) and directed the crowd on Andohalo to hold themselves in readiness to receive their queen.

As soon as the first officers had assembled, orders were issued to lieutenant-colonel Benea (master of the band) to enter through the northern gate at the head of the first royal band (taught at Mauritius) and 300 of the grenadiers of the town-division of the army wearing the uniform of British grenadiers. The generals then proceeded into the southern court-yard, and stood opposite the royal dwelling-house called Fohiloha (low roof,) to receive her majesty, and to conduct her to the tomb of Andriamasinavalona, the father of Radama. The queen then leaving the palace, walked the tomb; and its door on the south-west corner being opened, she took into her hands the flags of the idols Manjakatsiroa and Fantaka; the former the idol of the sovereign, the latter the idol of the oaths;* offered up a short prayer to Andriamasinavalona, and having returned

* Each of the flags of these idols is made of two oval slips of superfine scarlet cloth, which are fastened to a light staff coloured black and white. At the upper end of the staff of Manjakatsiroa, and under the ends of the scarlet cloth, is a beautiful cornelian stone, about the size of a pigeon's egg, called Arana, and another green stone of a diamond figure, called Andriantsiriry, and under these stones is a silver chain of six links, or rings, which constitute the essence of the great idol Manjakitsiroa. But the idol Fantaka has only a silver chain covered by the scarlet cloth, and attached to the upper end of the staff.



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The Queens ordinary style of appearing in public

the flags into the hands of their keepers, the priests, the door of the tomb was shut.

After her majesty had returned the flags, she entered her palanquin, which was covered with superfine scarlet cloth richly adorned with gold lace, and was carried by the royal bearers to the northern court-yard, where the procession was formed. At a quarter before one o'clock, the firing of twenty-one cannons announced the departure of the procession from the palace.

Lieutenant-colonel Benea, heading the royal military bands, led forward the grenadiers, and other troops of the Tananarivo division of the army. The civil officers followed, wearing European dresses. After another military band, came the lieutenants and captains, majors, and lieutenant-colonels, colonels, and major-generals; the generals followed, with the young prince royal, Rambosalamarazaka.

After the young prince, the procession moved forward in the following order:—officers of the palace, and attendants of her majesty; the queen's body-guard, comprising equal numbers of Arabs, and of Malagasy, from Iboina on the western coast, armed with spears and swords, the latter carried in the scabbards; the queen, borne by lieutenants of the troops of the capital, on her right hand were women-singers from the east coast, and on their right the body-guard, called Tsimamakivolana, walked with spears in their hands. On the left of the queen were the women-singers from the western coast, and on their left was the body-guard of Sakalavas, with spears in their hands; then behind the queen were the singing-women of Imerina, called Tsimiriry. The members of the queen's family riding in native palanquins covered with white cloth, followed the queen; after these, the Tsimandoavavy, (wives of the town body-guard,) dressed in the blue lamba, followed, singing

as they walked along. The numerous troops on duty at the capital, called Tsimandoalahy, armed with muskets, and dressed in their uniform, brought up the rear.

Passing through the northern gate, the procession advanced between lines of soldiers, followed by crowds of people shouting and singing. In order to proceed according to established usage along the old line of road of Andriampoinimerina, it was deemed necessary to proceed by a circuitous route, rather than by the broad and straight road made by Radama from the palace to Andohalo.*

When the queen entered the place of assembly, she was carried towards the sacred stone, which stands about one hundred yards north-west of the platform on which the sovereign usually appears. Alighting on the south side of the stone, her majesty ascended it, and stood with her face towards the east, being surrounded by five generals, each holding his cap or helmet in one hand, and a drawn sword in the other, the band at the same time playing the national air. The queen, standing upon the sacred stone, exclaimed, "Masina, masina, v'aho?" i. e., "Am I consecrated, consecrated, consecrated?" The five generals replied, "Masina, masina, masina hianao!"—"You are consecrated, consecrated, consecrated!" Then all the crowd shouted, "Trarantitra hianao, Ranavalomanjaka!" i. e., "Long may you live, Ranavalomanjaka!" The queen, then descending from the stone on the east side, took the idols Manjakatsiroa and Fantaka into her hands, and addressed them, saying, "My predecessors have given you to me. I put my trust in you; therefore, support me." She then delivered them into the hands of their respective keepers, entered her palanquin, and was borne towards the platform, which she ascended by the east side.

* A large space, of an oval form, about seven acres in extent, and exceedingly well adapted for public assemblies.

The royal chair or throne, which was covered with scarlet cloth, richly adorned with gold lace, was placed at some distance from the eastern side of the platform, on ascending which, the queen proceeded to the royal chair, on which she took her seat. On her right hand sat her eldest sister, the mother of prince Ramboasalamarazaka; in front of the princess sat a major of the body-guard, holding a large silk umbrella over the head of the queen. On her majesty's left hand stood the prince, heir-apparent; and on the right and left behind him, the members of the royal family sat on the platform. Behind these again, in the arms of her nurse, sat the only daughter of Radama. The wives, and some of the family of Radama, were also seen sitting among the wives of the judges below, on the north and south of the platform. On the east and west sides sat the judges, civil and military officers, and the nobles. At each corner of the west side of the platform, the idols, Manjakatsiroa and Fantaka, were held up by their respective keepers. The idols themselves were covered as already described, and the greater part of the splendid cloth of scarlet and gold employed for this purpose, waving in the breeze, and viewed by the people with a degree of superstitious awe, added much to the impressiveness of the occasion and the scene.

It is supposed that about 60,000 people were convened in this vast assembly; of these eight thousand were soldiers. Two thousand of the town-division stood in close columns on each side of the platform, beside those who formed the lines on each side of the road from the palace. A square was formed in front of the platform, within which the two bands of music were placed, and where many of the civil and military officers were stationed.

After remaining a short time on the royal chair, the

queen arose, the bands at the same time playing the national air. Her majesty leaned on her eldest sister, whom she requested to receive the hasina, or money presented from the officers, from heads of provinces, and of districts, from foreigners, &c., in token of acknowledging her supremacy. The queen then addressed the immense assembly to the following effect:—

"Veloma Zanadralambo, veloma Zanakandriandroraka, veloma Zanakandriamasinavalona," &c. i. e. "I salute you," (different clans as named,) and continued, "If you have never known me before, it is I, Ranavalona, who now appear before you." The people then shouted, "Hoo, hoo." Then she said, "God gave the kingdom to my ancestors, they transferred it Andriampoinimerina, and he again to Radama, on condition that I should be his successor. Is it not so, Ambaninandro?"—(my subjects.) All replied, "It is so." Again she added, "I will not change what Radama and my ancestors have done; but I will add to what they did. Do not think that because I am a woman, I cannot govern the kingdom: never say, she is a woman weak and ignorant, she is unable to rule over us. My greatest solicitude and study will always be to promote your welfare, and to make you happy. Do you hear that, Ambaniandro?" All replied, "Yes."

Rainimahay, her prime minister, stood at a little distance west of the platform, and addressed the queen, saying, "Veloma hianao Ramavalomanjaka, veloma hianareo Ramirahavavy, veloma Ramboasalamarazaka." He then turned to the people, and addressed them, saying, that they could put every confidence in the queen, and repeated to them the speech she had just delivered, with some appropriate observations on it. Then the first class or clan, called Zanadralambo, rose up, and one of their chiefs or heads

addressed the queen, assured her of their fidelity and presented to her, as their hasina, i. e., their mark of respect or homage, a Spanish dollar; then the next clan, Zanakandriamasinavalona did the same; then the Zanakambony; then the people of different provinces and districts, through their heads or representatives; then the Arabs of Muscat, who had but recently arrived with merchandise; then the Europeans; and, last of all, the generals, as the representatives of the army; Ravalonsalama, the oldest general, being selected to speak on behalf of the rest, assured the queen that the army would be found faithful in supporting her throne. It was observed that the queen personally thanked only the Europeans and the military. She had appointed a place for the Europeans a little behind the platform, and two hundred soldiers to protect them from inconvenience on account of the pressure of the multitude.

The ceremony being finished, the procession returned to the palace in the same order as before, though by a different route, passing along Radama's road. The firing of cannon indicated the return of the queen to her palace. Having reached the court-yard of the Tranovola, the queen left her palanquin, and, standing near the grand tomb of Radama, took the flags of Manjakatsiroa and Fantaka into her hands, and offered up a short prayer to Radama, which she concluded, by saying, "May thy name ever be respected." She then walked to the house in the southern court-yard, called Mahitsy, conducted by the young prince Ramboasalamarazaka: at the door of the palace she dismissed the prince and the officers, who, together with the troops, proceeded to their respective quarters.

Considering the partial state of civilization hitherto attained by the Malagasy, the coronation of Ranavalona must have been regarded by the people as an imposing

spectacle. The queen's hair was dressed according to the Hova mode, in numerous small plaits. On the crown of her head she wore an ornament, resembling a piece of coral, called in French, "troches," but in Malagasy, "volahevitra;" it consisted of five branches, to each of which a red stone, and a small piece of gold, resembling a bell, were attached. The end of the coral was fixed in a round mother-of-pearl shell, placed above the forehead. With this was connected a fine gold chain of native manufacture, which, after being wound several times round the coral, encircled the brow of the queen, and passed from the forehead over the crown to the back of the head. The queen wore three necklaces, the first of fine red coral; the second of a red stone ornamented with gold; and the third of red cornelian. Besides these, she wore a scarf, adorned in a curious manner with cornelian stones, called vakantsilehiby. On each arm her majesty wore three bracelets, one of white crystal beads, called vakamiarana, one of oval pearls, ornamented with gold, and the other of fine coral. According to the custom of the country, she also wore anklets of coloured glass or precious stones. A white picture, ornamented with gold, was suspended from each of her ear-rings; and on the third and fourth fingers of each hand, she wore rings of gold, ornamented with precious stones, having on the third finger of the right hand a massive gold ring, beautifully polished. Her upper dress (ranzo) was of purple silk, richly ornamented with gold lace, having round the wrists, and on the back, a row of gold buttons. Her kitamby, or lower dress, was of white silk; her mantle, or robe, was of superfine scarlet cloth, ornamented similarly to the ranzo; her stockings were white silk, her shoes yellow morocco, and her forehead was marked with white clay, (taniravo, called, when thus used,

joyful earth.) The other members of the royal family were dressed in the European manner.

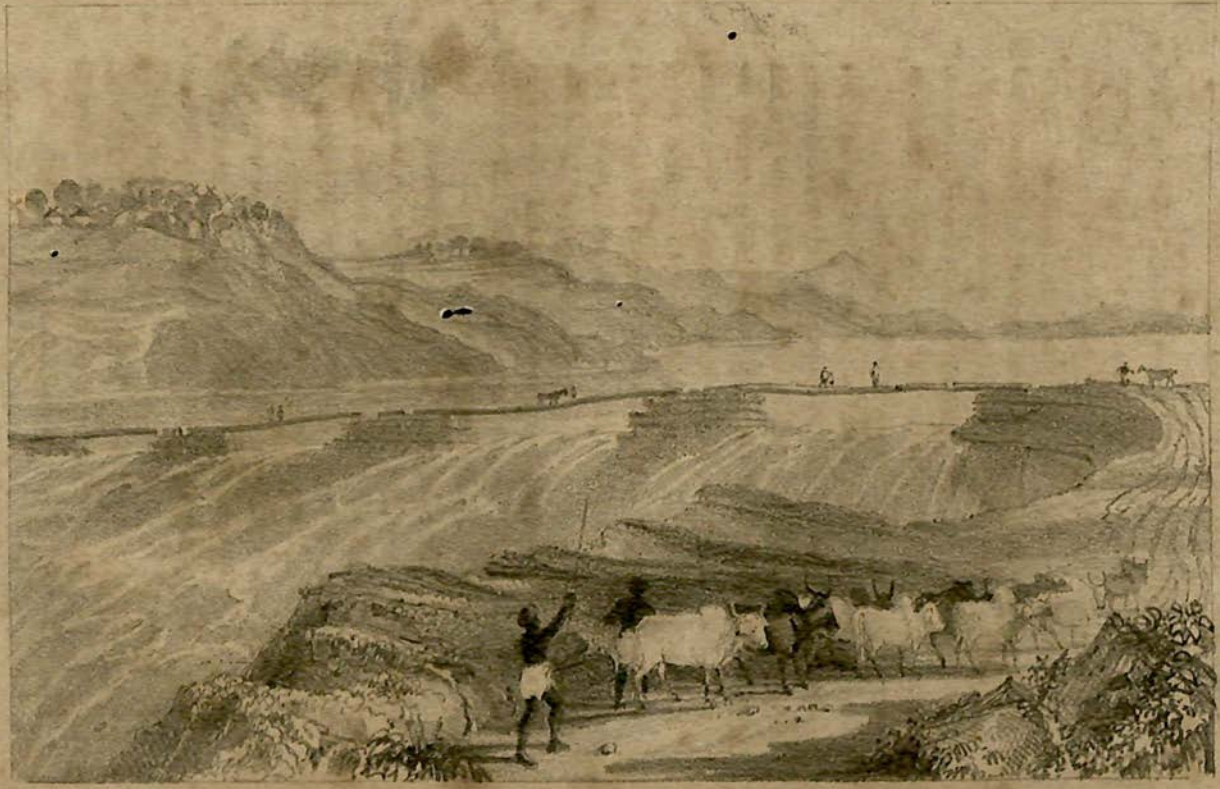
Splendid as the pageant attending the coronation had been, and important as were the advantages supposed by the government to be secured thereby, just causes for apprehension were not wanting. Several powerful chiefs in the south, who had never acknowledged the supremacy of Radama, were not expected quietly to admit the claims of one whose only title to the allegiance she required, consisted in the murder of the rightful successor to the late sovereign of the Hovas; and against them a body of troops had been sent from the capital. Reports were also received respecting the hostile intentions of Ramanetaka, a cousin of Radama, a prince of great talents, enterprise, and courage; who was then in the prime of manhood, who under Radama had held some of the most important offices in the kingdom, and was regarded with the most devoted attachment by the Hovas. It was rumoured that he was mustering an army in the north, with the intention of invading Imerina in person, and dispossessing the queen and her adherents. Fifteen thousand troops were immediately appointed for the defence of the northern frontier of Ankova, as Ramanetaka was not an enemy to be trifled with. Had there been any foundation for the rumour, such precaution had been by no means unnecessary: no opponent could have arrayed himself against them whom the supporters of Ranavalona had more just reason to fear,—but they were soon relieved of immediate apprehension from this source; and it was found that—reading his own doom in that of Rakotobe, Rataffe, and Rafaralahy, Radama's faithful friends—Ramanetaka, not feeling himself safe in Madagascar, had fled to Mohilla, one of the Comoro Islands, where he has since remained.

The government was scarcely satisfied that no immediate

attack from Ramanetaka was to be apprehended, before they were threatened with difficulties from another quarter. Reports of an expedition being sent from France against Madagascar, reached the capital in the month of August, 1829, and produced strong and general excitement and uneasiness. The spirits of the Hovas were, however, somewhat raised by the return of the army from the south, where, although fifty of the Hovas had been killed, success had attended their unjust and barbarous campaign.

They arrived at the capital in the month of October this year, having butchered all the men they had taken, amounting, with those killed in battle, to about 1000; the greatest number having found safety in concealment among the extensive caverns abounding in the country. The victors had ravaged their country, and driven to the capital about 20,000 head of cattle, which were purchased by the queen at the rate of half-a-dollar per head. Besides these, they brought a large quantity of other plunder, and 800 prisoners, women and children. These were detained near the bridge at Ambanala, until the arrival of what was called a good or lucky day for entering the capital.

The unhappy captives presented a spectacle truly affecting, when, amidst the roar of cannon, the caresses and greetings of relatives welcoming the victors, and the shouts of the natives driving the cattle in their rear, they ascended the hill on which the capital is built. Ropes were fastened round the neck of those who led the way, and who were the wives, sisters, or daughters of the most distinguished among the vanquished; these ropes bound them to those by whom they were immediately followed; these again were tied to the next; and the line of ropes continuing, bound the captives together, each one being thus tied to those immediately before and behind.



Bridge at Ambaniala

In this manner they toiled up the hill, the greater part of them carrying loads on their heads, and many of them being mothers had an infant at their backs, or led one or two of their children by the hand. When the troops, who needlessly guarded the wearied and sorrowing prisoners, had conducted them to the place appointed for their temporary accommodation, they were delivered to the officers of government, in whose charge they remained until publicly sold into slavery, and retained in the establishment of their masters at the capital, or sent to different parts of the country.

The savage exultation which the return of successful troops from the south had produced, however, was soon followed by tidings of the disasters attending the troops which had been sent to Ambongo, where disease had committed dreadful ravages, and famine threatened their entire destruction. Additional idols were brought from the villages deemed sacred, in which they were kept, to the capital, and costly offerings were publicly made to them by the queen, with a view of averting from the troops the threatened calamities, and securing the aid of the idols in defeating the enemies of her person and government.

The report which had reached the capital in the middle of the year, respecting an hostile expedition from France, was shortly afterwards found to be correct. Six French ships, under the command of Commodore Gourbeyre, arrived in the roads of Tamatave, in the middle of October. They found the place comparatively unprotected, and met with but a feeble resistance. Their arrival appears to have taken Prince Corroller, the officer in command of the station, by surprise; and when, on the 14th of October, the morning after their arrival, the vessels opened their fire on the battery, in a little more than a quarter of an hour the magazine was blown up, many of the houses were destroyed,

great numbers of the people killed, and Corroller with his troops obliged to retire to Hivondrona, where he remained with a small force almost destitute of ammunition.

On the 17th, the French attacked the Hovas at Hivondrona, killed a number of the people, forced them to fly still further into the interior, and then returning pillaged the town; after which they repaired to their ships, and proceeded northwards towards Foule Point. This was the next post they attacked, but they met with the most determined resistance from the Hovas, and, after losing a considerable number of their men, retired to the Isle of St. Mary's. In the mean time, the government having received information of the descent upon the coast, Ratsitohaina was sent on a special embassy to Tamatave, to demand the immediate cessation of hostilities, and to make known to the assailants the only terms on which the queen would treat with the French.

Radama's treaty with the English, his abolition of the slave-trade, and his assumed sovereignty of the island, had never been agreeable to the French authorities at the Isle of Bourbon; and more than once, during his reign, they had preferred their claim to a large portion of the eastern coast, in which their settlements had been formerly established. The late king had always denied most explicitly their claim, and when last at Tamatave, in 1827, had refused to see the French agent who arrived off the coast at the time, or to receive the despatches of which he was the bearer. At that time, the forcible seizure of a part of the coast was threatened, and for that purpose the present expedition had been sent. It was also rumoured that the French intended to place on the throne a relative of the late king, supposed to be more favourable to their interests than the reigning queen. Commodore Gourbeyre was accompanied by Mr.

Fourette, envoy extraordinary, who was instructed to urge the claim, on behalf of France, to a large portion of the eastern coast, and to make arrangements for regulating the future intercourse between the French and Malagasy.

On the arrival of the embassy from the queen, hostilities ceased; Prince Corroller soon received a reinforcement of about 2000 troops; and negociations were commenced. The French preferred their claims to certain districts, and a considerable part of the eastern side of the island; proposing to occupy these, and enter into a treaty of commerce with the native government. The queen's officers, on the other hand, expressed their willingness to enter into approved commercial treaties, but refused to allow any right of territory to the French, or their occupancy of a single inch of ground. Unable to proceed with the native officers, the French envoy refused to continue the negociation with any but the queen, and requested permission to proceed to the capital. He was allowed by Prince Corroller to advance as far as the river Mangoro, the boundary of Imerina, and, after considerable delay, allowed to approach within three miles of the capital. On one occasion, when arrangements were making for his visit to the capital, the officers sent with the escort, who were to attend him to the palace, inquired for his credentials from the king of France. After some hesitation, he replied, that he had no credentials from the king, but from the governor of Bourbon. The officers replied, that the queen could enter into no arrangement with the governor of Bourbon, or with any one not commissioned directly from the French king.

The chief part of the ensuing year was spent in fruitless negociations between the French agents on the coast, and the government at the capital. Fresh troops arrived from Europe, and others were expected from Bourbon, to aid the

French; and the natives were kept in a state of great excitement and unsettlement, expecting a renewal of the attack.

In order to provide for the defence of the country, the army was augmented; and, in addition to the forces on the coast, it was reported that 12,000 troops were collected at the capital, and every preparation made for the most vigorous and obstinate resistance.

On one occasion, when the officers on the coast sent up a report of the claims of the French to a part of the territory, the nobles and chiefs of the principal districts in the interior were assembled; and when the demand of the French was made known, their reply was, "No: before we will consent to give them one foot of land, we will face them ourselves, and, if needful, will send our slaves. If this be not sufficient, our wives shall go and fight against them, rather than allow them a place on our shores." In the mean time the Malagasy fever made great havoc among the French soldiers; and the chiefs of the invading forces, in consequence either of the non-arrival of adequate reinforcements, or the spirit and ability shown by the Hovas, abandoned the enterprise, and sailed finally from the coast of Madagascar in October or November, 1830.

Although the Hovas from the first determined to resist to the uttermost the settlement of the French on the coast, and made the most active preparations for opposing whatever force they might bring, they placed no small measure of dependence upon the being able to keep their enemies on the coast, and on the havoc they expected the fever would make among them. Radama was fully sensible of the advantage of keeping any foreign enemy within the reach of this formidable destroyer; and on one occasion, when he was told that the French were about to execute

their threat of invasion, he replied, in his own characteristic style, "Very well, let them try: I have an officer in my service, General Tazo, (the name of the Malagasy fever;) I'll leave them in his hands for a while, and have no doubt of the result." Vague rumours of the hostile intentions of the French still continued to reach Madagascar; but since the abortive expedition of 1829, no attempts have been made to obtain by force the possession of any part of the country.

The discontinuance of all encouragement to education—the evidently unfavourable views with which the chief objects of the Mission were regarded by the principal officers of the queen's government—the measures taken by them to impede the labours of the Missionaries, and to restore the domination of their idols and charms throughout the land—the circumscribed limits within which the labours of the Missionaries were now confined—and the unsettled state of the country, had, ever since the death of the king, brought the Missionaries into circumstances painfully contrasting with those under which, during the reign of Radama, they had pursued their labours. Influenced by the position of affairs, the absence of every prospect of more extensive usefulness, and apprehending changes still more unfavourable, Mr. Freeman, in the autumn of 1829, deemed it his duty to leave Madagascar, at least for a season, and proceed to Mauritius. With this view, accompanied by Mrs. Freeman and their two children, Mr. Freeman took leave of his friends and fellow-labourers at the capital, on the 30th of September, and commenced his journey towards the coast. Letters and tokens of esteem from the queen and principal officers were sent to him, on taking his farewell of Imerina.

The journey was one of extreme fatigue, vexation, dis-

aster, and peril. About a fortnight after leaving the capital, the bearers employed to carry the Missionary, his family, and luggage, fled without a moment's warning, having been alarmed by intelligence of the attack of the French on the town of Tamatave, and the retreat of Prince Corroller and the native troops. After a fortnight of very distressing anxiety and alarm, spent in moving from one village to another, as reports of the advance or retreat of the French were received, and the almost utter impossibility of obtaining bearers to carry them forward, they moved on towards the coast, and at length reached Tamatave on the evening of the 29th of October. Here, though every place bore the aspect of desolation, Mr. Freeman was thankful to find a small vessel, called the Radama, employed in trading between Madagascar and Mauritius; and although the captain, taking advantage of his circumstances, demanded an exorbitant sum for his passage, he deemed it his duty to leave the island by the means of safety thus provided. On the morning of the 31st of October, the report of distant cannon in a northerly direction was distinctly heard, and was supposed to be the attack of the French upon Foule Point. On the following day, Mr. F. and his family embarked on board the Radama, then at anchor in the roads. On the evening of the 3d of November, his infant son, who had taken the fever on approaching the coast, and had been gradually sinking under its influence, silently expired. This new trial, in itself deeply afflicting to the sorrowing parents, was rendered more distressing by their peculiar circumstances. A rough coffin was prepared by the carpenter on board the ship, and an opportunity sought to convey the corpse to the shore. This was attempted in the afternoon of the same day, when a landing was effected, without molestation

either from the French or those parties of natives who, taking advantage of the state of the town and neighbourhood, addicted themselves to outrage and plunder.

It was the earnest wish of Mr. Freeman to bury his child near the spot where the remains of the first Mission families had been interred, but it was not deemed prudent to venture so far from the beach. A retired spot, overgrown with trees and brushwood, near one extremity of the bay, was therefore selected; and here two seamen dug the infant's grave, and the afflicted father, after bowing in agony of spirit before the Father of mercies, and asking Divine consolation and support, deposited the remains of his beloved child in the earth, while the captain and the first officer of the ship, each armed with a loaded musket, kept watch against surprise or assault. On the 5th of November, the embassy from the queen arrived at Tamatave and proceeded to the north in search of the French. At daybreak on the following morning, the Radama got under way, and the Missionary and his mourning family proceeded to Mauritius, to remain for a short time, and then embark for the Cape of Good Hope.

The stimulus to the most vigorous activity in military preparations for the defence of the country, produced by the attack of the French, continued long after they had retired from the coast; and the expectation of its being renewed was accompanied by an equal degree of activity and determination, on the part of the chief officers in the government, to revive superstition and idolatry in the island. The power of the idols was acknowledged as supreme in almost every transaction; public offerings, and acts of homage to the idols, were multiplied in the capital; and the movements of the government, in many of their minute details, were regulated by the pretended orders of

the sikidy, or divination, and the use of tangena, or trial by poison, was restored with most destructive consequences. In obedience to the orders of the sikidy, the queen removed to the village of Ambohimanga, about twenty miles from the capital, where she remained for some months during the early part of 1830. A number of the civil and military officers were required to drink the poison at the capital; and a general purification of the country, by the same ordeal, was enjoined. Under the latter, many hundreds, if not thousands, of the Malagasy, are supposed to have been sacrificed.

While the determination of the government to promote the power of superstition over the minds of the people were thus painfully manifested, a more friendly disposition was shown towards the Missionaries, but without the slightest indication that the chief objects of the Mission were in any respect more favourably regarded, though the rulers of the country became increasingly sensible of the value of the labours of the Missionary artisans. The attention they received is, in all probability, to be ascribed to the hostility of the French, and the consequent desirableness of endeavouring to secure the friendship of the English. It was, however, grateful to the Missionaries, that by means of some members of the government favourable to their objects, they were allowed to pursue without interruption their important labours. A small addition was made to the number of scholars, and the Missionary had full liberty to teach, preach, and carry forward the great work of translating the Scriptures, and preparing other Christian books.

Feeling the extremely frail tenure by which they held their means of doing good, and uncertain how long they might be permitted even to continue in the country, the Missionaries directed much of their attention to the print-

ing that every possible provision might be made for the wants of the people, should events occur still more unfavourable to the progress of their work. In the month of March, 1830, they had the satisfaction of completing an edition of 5000 copies of the New Testament in the Malagasy language. They had printed 1000 copies of different tracts, and a small system of arithmetic for the use of the schools, 1500 copies of a catechism, and 2000 spelling-books. They had also 400 copies of the entire New Testament, upwards of 2000 copies of single Gospels, and a number of catechisms and spelling-books.

Discouraged as the Missionaries were by the unfavourable circumstances of the people, they had the satisfaction of beholding, during a large part of the year, greater attention on the part of those who attended public worship, and of putting into circulation many portions of the New Testament and other books. These were read not only by the people of Imerina, but by numbers, in distant provinces, who had formerly been pupils in the Mission schools. It was also proposed about this time, to commence, with the aid of natives, the compilation of dictionaries in the English and Malagasy languages, for the benefit of the natives and their teachers. The Missionaries were also cheered by indications not a few, that their labours, and the books they had circulated, had, under the Divine blessing, been the means of decisive spiritual benefit to many who had received them. After noticing, in a communication dated July 1st, 1830, several instances of usefulness, Mr. Baker thus writes:—

"The above statements supply facts among the most cheering, perhaps, of any to be discovered in the present state of our Mission. They prove that some, in this land of heathen darkness, may, and do, manifest a love to the word of God. They show that such a sentiment may spread from one to another, aided by the means already in operation, without the intervening aid of ourselves:

and, therefore, they forbid us to entertain despondency. Never have I observed, so much as now, the great effect already produced by the gospel here. Conversation among the natives on the subject of religion is frequent, and the preached gospel reaches, with an impressive force, the consciences of some of the people. There is certainly no inducement for us to slacken in our exertions, but, on the contrary, to labour while it is called to-day. We have under our superintendence, not fewer than two thousand, five hundred children, and, with this charge, it behoves us to feel our personal responsibility. 'Whatsover thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might.'"

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Jones, the senior Missionary, the pioneer of missionary labour in Madagascar, felt himself necessitated, by long-continued illness, to seek, in a return for a season to his native land, the restoration of health, which had been greatly impaired by the influence of the climate, and the hardships and trials connected with the establishment of the Mission. On his taking leave, the deepest regret was manifested by the Missionaries, several members of the government, and many of the people. From the queen he received a letter, testifying her high sense of his character, and the value of his labours, and giving him permission, should his health permit, to return, and pursue the great objects of his Mission. Several marks of respect were given by the government to Mr. Jones, on his leaving the country. A salute was fired when he set out from the capital; and besides the letter from the queen, a guard of twenty men accompanied him to the coast. He left the capital on the 23d of June, reached Mauritius in safety, and in the month of March of the following year, proceeded to England, where he arrived with his family in improved health, on the 29th of June, 1831.

CHAP. XVI.

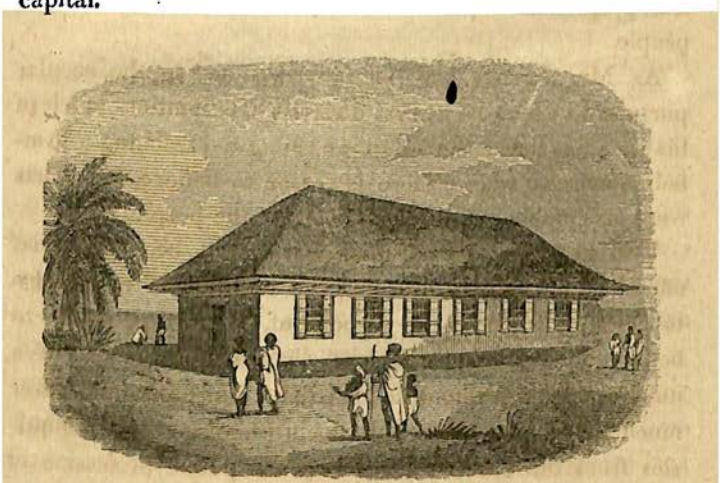
Continued attention of the people to religious instruction—Beneficial effects of the labours of the artisans—Baptism of the first converts in Madagascar—Notice of a celebrated diviner—Letter of a native convert—Persecution of native Christians—Spiritual prosperity of the Mission—Natives forbidden to receive the ordinance of the Lord's Supper—Organization of a Christian church in Madagascar—Return of Mr. Freeman from the Cape of Good Hope, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson—Natives forbidden to receive the rite of baptism—Examination of the schools—The teaching of slaves to read, prohibited—Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson required to leave the country—Notice of a slave-convert—Departure of Mr. Baker for England—Unsettled state of the country—Campaign to the south part of the island—Superstitious observances of the commanding officer—His subsequent defeat—Conduct of the Christian soldiers—Successful campaign to the south in 1832—Rumour of a renewed attack from the French—Arrival of a Roman Catholic emissary—Unpopularity of the government schools—Labours of the press—Zeal and devotedness of the native Christians—Description of a renowned Malagasy idol—Notice of its former worshippers—Return of Mr. and Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Freeman—Messrs. Griffiths and Canham ordered to leave the country.

THE encouragement which the Missionaries received from the authorities in the latter part of 1830, was rather increased during the early part of the following year, and important privileges were obtained for those among the natives who were inclined to profess their faith in Christ.

The exertions of the press were continued with unabated vigour; and though chiefly engaged in printing separate books of the Old Testament, an edition of four thousand spelling-books, and other useful publications, were furnished for the people. In their immediate labours for the spiritual

benefit of the people, the Missionaries had for several months witnessed a degree of attention and earnestness, on the part of the hearers, far surpassing any that had before existed. The chapel in which Mr. Griffiths preached, was filled every Lord's-day, and many could not gain admittance; considerable numbers appeared deeply impressed with the importance and necessity of personal religion, and flocked to the houses of the Missionaries, to be instructed more fully in the great doctrines of the Gospel. These individuals gave, at the same time, by the purity and consistency of their own deportment, and their affectionate earnestness to induce others to seek the blessings of salvation, the most satisfactory evidence of their sincerity and devotedness to the Saviour.

In order to provide more adequate means of instruction for the increasing numbers who now appeared to be earnestly seeking it, a substantial and commodious chapel was erected at Ambatonakanga, in the northern suburbs of the capital.



Chapel at Ambatonakanga.

The chapel was opened for public worship on the 5th of June, 1831, and was regularly attended by a numerous and devout assembly, who received with seriousness and attention the instructions of Mr. Johns, who now laboured at this station.

The efforts of the artisans were at this time highly prized by the government. Under Mr. Cameron alone, who was engaged in the construction of machinery, and other public works, nearly six hundred youths were constantly employed. Mr. Cameron, while instructing them in useful mechanic arts, paid the most persevering attention to their moral and spiritual improvement, and encouraged their regular attendance at the adjacent and newly-erected place of worship, towards the building of which the government, as well as Mr. Cameron, and many friends at the capital and elsewhere, had contributed. Early in September, a suitable room, in the centre of the capital, was engaged for public worship; where the Missionaries, assisted by devoted and pious native preachers, dispensed instruction to the people.

As Mr. Canham was not fully occupied in the secular pursuits to which he at first directed his attention, much of his time was now occupied in preaching and teaching at Ambohimandroso, where, there is reason to believe, his efforts were acceptable and useful to many of the people.

The exertions of the Missionaries had been rendered effectual, not only in arousing the attention of multitudes to the great truths of the gospel, but, as they had reason to believe, in producing a decisive change in the hearts of a number of those who attended their ministrations. After much instruction by the Missionaries, and repeated inquiries from the natives, respecting the public profession of Christ by baptism, several of the latter expressed themselves

desirous thus to testify their attachment to the Lord. The Missionaries considering them sincere, and in other respects suitable subjects to receive the rite, admitted their applications with thankfulness and joy. Endeavours were then made to ascertain whether the government would renew the permission that had been given by Radama, for any of the natives who chose, to observe the religious customs of the Missionaries; and the queen sent a message, by some of the principal officers, which was delivered in the chapel on the 22d of May, 1831, to the effect "that her majesty does not change the words of the late king; all that wish are at liberty to be baptized, commemorate the death of Christ, or marry, according to the manners of Europeans. No blame is to be attached to any for doing it, or not doing it."

Considering the absolute power of the sovereign, the increasing military character which the government had assumed, and the zealous and persevering efforts of many of the highest officers to restore the power of the idols, the Missionaries regarded the full toleration of Christianity by a government avowedly heathen, and the granting of religious liberty, thus publicly confirmed, as one of the most important benefits secured to the native Christians, and to the cause of moral and religious improvement, since the death of Radama.

On the following Sabbath, the 29th of May, 1831, twenty of the first converts to Christ in Madagascar were publicly baptized by Mr. Griffiths, in the Mission chapel, before a numerous, highly interested, and deeply affected audience. On the following Sabbath, June 5th, eight individuals were baptized by Mr. Johns in the newly-erected chapel at Ambatonakanga; six of these were young men, who had long been under Christian instruction as scholars, and were

subsequently employed as assistants to the Missionaries in teaching, and other departments of their work.

The remaining two were a man and his wife, whose intelligence, piety, kind and generous efforts for the spiritual welfare of their countrymen, had long afforded the Missionaries cause for devout thanksgiving on their behalf. The man was past the meridian of life; he had spent his days in the service of the idols, and the practice of delusive jugglery as a diviner, a supposed revealer of destiny, and a guide in all important affairs. He possessed great influence among the people, and had derived no inconsiderable emolument from the practice of his art. Early in the year 1830, a young man, earnestly seeking the way of salvation, who was on terms of friendship with the diviner, spoke to him on the sinfulness and danger of continuing the practice of divination, and neglecting the words of true inspiration, which the Missionaries had brought to their country. He received with favourable attention the remarks of his young friend, and after being repeatedly persuaded, went himself to hear the preaching of the Missionaries. The new, and, to him, strange doctrines which they taught, filled his mind with reverence and wonder; and the Lord was pleased, there is reason to conclude, to impress the truth with divine power on his conscience and his heart. Soon after this, he publicly destroyed all his charms, and other emblems of superstition and instruments of divination, with the exception of one or two, which, as pledges of his sincerity, he delivered to the Missionaries, who sent them to England. In order to be able to read for himself the New Testament, he took his place among the scholars at the school, commenced with the alphabet, and continued his endeavours, without relaxation, until he was able to read, with correctness and facility, that word which he esteemed "more precious than

gold, yea, than much fine gold," and "able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." His wife seemed equally to partake of that divine mercy which had wrought this pleasing change in her husband: both appeared heirs together of the grace of eternal life, and had walked for a period of twelve months in the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless. The Missionaries, therefore, had much satisfaction in receiving these two individuals among the first-fruits of Madagascar unto Christ.

At the time of receiving the rite of baptism, the native Christians had been accustomed to take some name, by which they were afterwards called; Paul was that selected by the individual now referred to, and in the subsequent communications of the Missionaries, he is frequently referred to as Paul the diviner. In this instance, as in the South Sea Islands, and in other parts of the world, to which the knowledge of Christian faith has been introduced by missionary efforts, some of the most able and active supporters of delusion and idolatry have been among the first to experience the regenerating power of the gospel, and to exemplify its transforming and salutary influence.

Paul and his wife were not only examples of whatsoever things are pure and lovely, and of good report, but zealous, active, and persevering in their endeavours to bring others under instruction in the truth. In two others, though less conspicuous on account of character and pursuits, the evidence of an entire change of heart, effected by Divine agency, was not less satisfactory; while the fruits of righteousness were equally abundant and cheering. In illustration of the views and feelings with which the native converts sought the privilege of Christian fellowship, the following letter, from one of the applicants for baptism, on

the occasion above referred to, is given. It was addressed to Mr. Johns, and is dated May 30th, 1831.

"May you, Sir, live long, and never be ill, saith your son R—. This is what I have to say to you, viz.:—That I rejoiced much when I heard the word of the queen, (the permission to be baptized, &c.) so that the way is now free to receive baptism, and to commemorate the death of Christ. I am truly very glad to find there is nothing now to prevent or hinder any at all who has examined and tried himself: therefore, it is my wish to be a partaker of these. I devote myself, both soul and body, to Jesus, that I may serve him in all things, according to his will; and I pray to God, in this giving myself to Jesus, to assist me by his Holy Spirit, that I may love Jesus with all my heart, with all my spirit, with all my strength, and that I may not be made to stand any longer in doubt by any thing whatsoever. Having thus given myself up to Jesus, both soul and body, I now ask permission of you to join the church, and unite in commemorating the death of Jesus; and that I may also join you to sing and to praise, and to give glory to God as long as I shall live. And now, after this, pray for me unto God, that I may be assisted to fulfil what I have said, and serve Jesus faithfully all my days here on earth. I myself pray unto God to assist me by his Holy Spirit to fulfil my vows, that I may serve Jesus even until I die,

"Saith R—"

The attention of the people, to the subjects urged upon their consideration by the Missionaries, which had been increasing during the whole of the year, appeared to be greatly promoted by the first administration of baptism, and the formation of a Christian Church. Numbers expressed their desire to unite with the Christians, by publicly professing their faith in the Saviour; and much of the time of the Missionaries was now occupied in conversing with inquirers, and instructing more fully those who were seeking to be numbered among the people of God. Special times were appointed for meeting with those who

were desirous of giving themselves to the Lord, examining their views, and admonishing, directing, or encouraging them as might be most requisite. The meetings were usually attended by from 40 to 50 individuals, including several of rank and influence, who held high and responsible stations under the government. In these important duties, the Missionaries derived much valuable assistance from the judicious efforts and exemplary conduct of several natives, who had already united themselves with them in Christian fellowship.

The public abandonment of the superstitions of the country, and the adoption of the Christian faith by numbers of the people, together with the earnestness of the latter to bring others under religious instruction, exposed them, as might be expected, to many instances of petty annoyance and persecution. Contemptuous epithets were frequently applied by the heathens to the Christians, when the latter appeared in any of the places of public resort; and, in some instances, the enmity of the heathen member of a family against those who had embraced the gospel, produced more serious trials; but they were borne with meekness and gentleness, and ultimately favoured the progress of the gospel among the people. The Christians, while they patiently endured any slight annoyances from the heathen, persevered in the use of every suitable means for promoting their own spiritual improvement, and bringing others to attend to those impressive facts and glorious truths, which now appeared to themselves of such transcendent importance. With this view, besides the assemblies for public worship at the chapel, the Christians were accustomed to hold meetings at their own houses, during several evenings of the week, for reading the Scriptures, religious conversation, singing, and prayer. Sometimes the Missionaries

were present at these meetings, at other times they were attended by the native teachers. Through the Divine blessing on these and other means, the numbers who appeared to be earnestly seeking religious instruction, greatly increased; and by the end of the year the members in one of the churches amounted to nearly seventy, while the other also had received large additions.

The period now under review, though one of great spiritual prosperity, was also one of peculiar trial to the Mission. Whether the government became alarmed at the rapidity with which the profession of Christianity was extending, or at the powerful influence which its principles exerted over those by whom they were professed; or whether the counsels of those in the government favourable to Christianity, prevailed only for a short season,—is not known; but religious liberty had scarcely been publicly guaranteed by the order of the sovereign, before it was indirectly, but effectually, violated. Among those who were desirous of uniting themselves with the Christians, were some who held important offices under the government, and others nearly allied to the royal family: six or eight of the latter were among the earliest applicants for baptism; and, the Missionaries, satisfied of their religious character, intimated their willingness to receive them into the church; but on the day before that on which they were to make a public profession of the Christian faith, intimation of disapprobation in a high quarter was sent to them; in consequence of which, though they continued to attend public worship, they did not deem it safe, at that time, to present themselves for baptism.

Radama had, in the early part of his reign, established a law, prohibiting the use of wine or spirituous liquors in Imerina. This law had not been repealed, and—though

an exception was made in favour of Europeans, and it was by no means generally observed by the natives—advantage was now taken of it by the heathen party, to embarrass the Christians. With this view, after the first administration of the ordinance of the Lord's supper, a message was sent from the queen, declaring that it was contrary to the laws of the country for any native to drink wine, and that in future water alone must be used. Unable to obtain any relaxation of the law in favour of the communicants, the Christians had no alternative but to use water instead of wine, or dispense entirely with the observance: they preferred the former, and in this manner it was celebrated among them.

There will, undoubtedly, be great difference of opinion among the readers of this account, as to the propriety of the course pursued by the Missionaries on this trying occasion. They might, perhaps, be too much influenced by the peculiar and local circumstances at the time, which rendered it exceedingly undesirable to act in violation of the orders of the government; to give up an ordinance so recently introduced; or by indulging the hope of better days. They are, however, entitled to, and will receive from all, credit for acting according to the best dictates of their judgment, after much deliberation and prayer, and in a manner which appeared to them best suited to promote the cause of Christ among the people.

The party opposed to the gospel were not satisfied with this; and on its being perceived that several belonging to the army, and others in the schools established by government, were already numbered with the Christians, messages were sent to the scholars, who attended the schools by order of the government, and to all the soldiers, interdicting their receiving the rite of baptism, or joining the fellowship

of the church. At the same time, those who had been admitted to communion were ordered to refrain from uniting in the ordinance in future. This order was sent in the name of the officers of the army, and not of the queen; but it was not to be resisted with impunity; consequently, on the first communion Sabbath after it had been issued, the soldiers belonging to the church, who were present, abstained from using the elements used on this occasion in commemorating the death of their divine Redeemer: they remained in silence among their brethren, evidently under severe distress of mind. This was on the first Sabbath in November, 1831; and since that time, no one in the army, or belonging to the schools established by the government, have been allowed to be baptized, or unite with the church.

In the instructions given to the people, they were taught that it was the duty of those who repented of their sins, and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, publicly to profess their faith in him by baptism, and to commemorate his death by that ordinance which he had appointed to be observed in remembrance of him. And after the first baptisms, which took place in the months of May and June among the congregations under the care of Messrs. Griffiths and Johns respectively, those who were baptized partook immediately afterwards of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. It was not, however, until the month of August, that, after mutual conference between the Missionary and the people, and fervent prayers, that a Christian church was organized in connexion with the congregation assembling at Ambodinandohalo. On this interesting occasion, the believers present mutually giving and receiving the right hand of fellowship, agreed to regard each other as brethren and sisters in Christ, to watch over each other in the Lord, and to promote each other's comfort and spiritual

improvement. A declaration of faith, and articles of agreement, were then approved, as the basis of their own union, and to be submitted to all who should desire to unite with them. The articles of faith were such as are believed by all who hold the great doctrines of salvation by the cross of Christ; and the order of church government introduced, was not exactly according with that prevailing in any single denomination among us, devolving a larger amount of duty on the minister exclusively, than prevails among the Congregational order, but less than attaches to that office among the Presbyterians or Episcopalians. The plan of church government secured to the people the election of their own pastors, and the admission and rejection of members by the majority of the church alone. It was also recognized as the solemn duty of every member to endeavour, by all suitable and scriptural means, to promote the edification of the church, and the diffusion of the gospel to the utmost possible extent.

The growing attention to religious instruction, the increasing duties devolving upon the Missionaries, the cheering prospects of still more extensive usefulness in Madagascar, induced the brethren, early in the year, to invite Mr. Freeman, who had proceeded from Mauritius to the Cape of Good Hope, to return to their assistance. The native Christians also wrote to him, urging him to resume his labours among them, and the queen encouraged him to proceed again to the capital. Under these favourable circumstances, Mr. Freeman deemed it to be his duty to return again to the field, which, in 1829, he had felt himself compelled to leave.

In order to increase the resources of the country, and facilitate commerce between the Cape and Madagascar, a vessel belonging to the former place was engaged to con-

vey himself and Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson, who had laboured as Missionaries in South Africa, direct to Tamatave. In the middle of July, the party embarked at the Cape, Mr. Freeman having taken on board a number of horses, sheep, and other valuable animals, with plants, roots, and seeds, of various kinds, which he hoped to succeed in conveying safely to the island. Mrs. Freeman, and two dear children, remained at the Cape, with a view of proceeding to England by the earliest conveyance.

After a speedy and comfortable voyage, Mr. Freeman and his companions reached Tamatave on the 29th of August, 1831. There they were joyfully welcomed by Prince Corroller, and hospitably entertained by the European residents. The eastern coast was in a state of tranquillity, and the town of Tamatave appeared to be fast recovering from the desolation to which it had been reduced by the French. Mr. Freeman had taken Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson with him, in hopes of being able to induce the government to allow them to associate in Missionary work with the brethren already in the island. He had also with him five natives of Madagascar, who had been some years before taken from the island as slaves, captured afterwards by British cruisers, and taken to the Cape; these now returned in a state of freedom to their native land.

As soon as the ship arrived, information was sent to the queen, and permission asked for Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson to proceed to the capital. This was granted; orders were also sent, that all the stores they had brought should be conveyed to Antananarivo free of expense to the Missionaries. At Tamatave Mr. Freeman had the pleasure of meeting Messrs. Canham and Kitching, who came down to the coast to inform him of the prosperous state of the Mission, and to aid him in his journey to Imerina. On the

1st of September they left Tamatave, and reached the capital about the 20th, where their arrival was hailed with the liveliest feelings of delight by their friends and the native Christians.

The change that had taken place in the state of religion among the people, equally pleased and astonished Mr. Freeman, who observes that, on beholding the new place of public worship which had been erected, the crowded and attentive audiences listening to the preaching of the gospel, the numbers who appeared to be sincere converts, the affection, harmony, love, and zeal prevailing among them; their social meetings for prayer and religious improvement; and the numbers desirous of joining themselves to the disciples, he could scarcely believe his own senses. Under circumstances thus auspicious, and encouraged also by the friendly attention of the government, in aiding his return to the capital, Mr. Freeman resumed his important duties at Tananarivo, indulging the pleasing anticipations of enjoying still greater facilities for diffusing among the people the savour of the knowledge of Christ.

Whatever ground for hope and more favourable regard the friendly attentions of the government to Mr. Freeman and his companions might afford, they soon found that it was not to be ascribed to any willingness to allow the spread of Christianity among the people. No encouragement was given to education, except so far as it might furnish a supply of better qualified officers for the army, or servants for other departments of the government; and even these, if, besides their knowledge of letters, they were favourable to Christianity, were regarded with suspicion, and placed only in subordinate offices. The order, prohibiting any of the soldiers or pupils in the government schools from receiving baptism or the Lord's supper, was by the close of the year

extended to all other subjects of the queen; no native was permitted thus publicly to make profession of his faith in Christ, and even those who had been received to the communion of the church were forbidden to unite with the Missionaries in the celebration of the ordinance of the Lord's supper.

Under their peculiar circumstances, the little band of native Christian members of the churches under the care of Messrs. Griffiths, Johns, and Freeman, felt it their duty to comply with the orders of their heathen rulers; and on the sacramental occasions they endeavoured to commune in spirit with their European brethren and sisters in the hallowed service, which was conducted in the native language.

In the educational department, the efforts of the Missionaries were also greatly impeded, but liberty to preach and print was still afforded; and to these labours they were greatly encouraged by the increasing numbers who regularly attended their ministrations, and the decisive and salutary influence of the truth upon the minds of their hearers. The preaching of the Gospel appeared to be attended with a divine influence, which seemed to produce an entire change in the views and character of those by whom it was received, and constrained them to grateful and unremitting efforts for the spiritual good of their countrymen.

Instances frequently occurred, in which the example and efforts of Paul and his wife, and of some individuals of high rank among the people, were, in this respect, rendered eminently successful. The exertions of one of the latter became so obnoxious to the heathen party in the government, that he was charged with witchcraft, and obliged to submit to the ordeal of the tangena; but from the fatal

effects of the poison he was mercifully preserved, to the great joy of the Christians, and the benefit of the people.

In the month of May, 1832, the scholars in the schools established by the government, were directed to reassemble; a public examination was held; and the proficiency of the pupils commended in an official message from the sovereign, in which they were also directed to continue their attention to the instruction of the Missionaries. About the same time a public assembly of several thousands of the people was convened on the occasion of finishing a canal which had been cut under the direction of the Missionary artisans, between the river Ikiopa and an extensive lake at Amparibe, in the neighbourhood of the capital. The lake is used as a reservoir of water for mills erected under the superintendence of Mr. Cameron. The message from the queen was delivered by some of the highest officers, expressing her sense of the importance of the Mission to the nation, and the benefits its industry, science, and skill had conferred on the people.

The Missionaries had hoped that the examinations of the schools would have led to the encouragement of their efforts in this department; but they soon found that the end of the government was to ascertain the numbers, ages, and attainments of the pupils, for other purposes; and they had too much reason to believe that the Mission was only valued, or perhaps only tolerated, on account of the advantages which the skill and knowledge of the artisans secured to the government.

The evidence of this was the more painfully conclusive, when, in addition to prohibiting any native from receiving the ordinances of Christianity, the benefits of reading and writing were ordered to be withheld from every slave in the country. Soon after the public examination referred to, an edict was issued, by which every master was forbidden to

allow a slave to learn to read, on pain of forfeiting such slave, and being himself reduced to slavery; and every slave was forbidden to learn, under the heaviest penalties.

The arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson has already been noticed; they accompanied Mr. Freeman to the capital, having obtained permission to remain one year in the country. Their skill in teaching, especially their knowledge of the infant-school system, induced the Missionaries to hope that the government would allow them to remain—but they were mistaken; several inquiries were made as to what they were able to teach, beyond what was taught by the Missionaries already in the country, and, among other inquiries, it was asked if they were artists, and could paint portraits, and teach the art of painting. When it was ascertained they could not teach any of the arts, or introduce any new manufactures, but, as the natives expressed it, only teach reading and writing, they evinced no desire for their continuance. On the 8th of June, the day after the public examination of the schools, a message was brought to the Missionaries, in the name of the queen, to the effect that, as the year which Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson had been allowed to remain in the country had nearly expired, they were to prepare for their return, and to take their departure in five days. The Missionaries earnestly solicited permission for them to remain, but without any effect; a slight extension of the period of leaving the capital was all they could obtain; and, on the 6th of July, being compelled to depart from a country in which they were earnestly desirous of labouring for the good of the people, they left Tananarivo, proceeded to Mauritius, and sailing thence reached the Cape of Good Hope, where they resumed that work which they are still honoured to continue. The Missionaries were greatly distressed at their departure, especially as they

afterwards heard that it was not only without the authority, but even knowledge of the queen, that the members of the government, who were opposed to Christianity, had sent them away. It was said that, when they were half-way towards the coast, the queen was told they did not like the country, wished to return, and were then on their journey to the coast.

Though thus discouraged by the government, the Missionaries were stimulated to every possible exertion, and greatly cheered in their labours, by the earnest desires of numbers of the people after instruction, and the solicitude shown by many to obtain books, and learn to read. To meet this demand, 21,000 copies of small books, of different kinds, were printed in the course of the year.

Other kinds of evidence that the great Head of the church was accomplishing his purposes of mercy by means of the Mission, were also afforded, in the tranquil and happy deaths of several, who departed from this world under the cheering influence of a hope full of immortality. The following brief narrative selected from amongst several of a similar kind, was communicated by Mr. Baker in the month of March, 1832; and may be noted more at length than might otherwise be suitable, on account of its satisfactory character, and its referring to the first death that occurred amongst those who had publicly professed the name of Christ. The subject of the narrative was a young slave, of sluggish mind and indolent habits; the son of his master was a scholar, and this young slave was appointed to the duty of attending him at school. Here he, as well as a number of other slaves sent with their young masters, was taught by the Missionaries to read the Scriptures. These, by the divine blessing, were the means of producing a delightful change in his entire character, to which Mr. Baker thus refers:

"He was enabled to receive the gospel of Christ like a little child. He felt himself to be a lost sinner, and he found in Jesus Christ a Saviour just suited to him, and he believed on him; rejoicing that he had died to save sinners, and was able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God by him.

"While religion thus wonderfully improved his intellectual and moral character, it imparted new vigour to all his actions and habits. He became increasingly active and diligent as a servant. His mind seemed to expand, and his faculties appeared enlivened by the new views which Christianity gave of the relation in which he stood towards the great Creator and Preserver of the universe.

"There was in his character a union of the utmost humility and self-abasement, with a certain degree of manly sentiment and aspiring hope. He knew that he was among the lowest in the ranks of his own countrymen, of whom the highest were greatly inferior to the Europeans; yet he felt that, as a Christian, he could, equally with the highest, know and adore his Creator. He often used to say, 'I am only a poor slave, but nevertheless I trust I love the Lord Jesus.'

"Although he was a stranger to that refined sensibility which is found among polished society, he possessed a sensibility of infinitely more importance and value, a constant fear of offending his Creator, and a quick perception of the sinfulness of actions. He would never shrink from eating his humble meal of simple rice, or manioc root, from a leaf of the banana tree, or piece of rush matting; but he shuddered from uniting with his countrymen in their licentious, impious, and cruel practices. He beheld without emotion their half-naked persons, wretched houses, and miserable outward condition, for with these he had always been familiar; but he was horror-struck at the contemplation of their utter ignorance, stupid, idolatrous, and ungoverned sensuality. This sensibility was to him a sort of spiritual eye-sight, and new-created faculty, which warned his soul of whatever was offensive to God, as our outward senses discover to us whatever is agreeable or repugnant to our bodily appetites.

"About the middle of the year 1830, a very greatly increased attention to Christianity was manifested by the natives of Madagascar; greater numbers pressed eagerly to us for instruction than

the chapels could hold; and houses of prayer multiplied wonderfully both within and out of our station—the capital. Rabenohaja was among the earliest and most zealous of the 'believers,' as the Christians were termed in derision. He was ever active in teaching some to read; persuading others to attend divine service; and assisting at the prayer-meetings established among themselves.

"Rabenohaja was shortly afterwards employed in teaching a school about seventy miles from the capital. Whilst engaged in imparting the elements of knowledge to the scholars, he habitually sought to communicate some portion of the life-giving truths of the Gospel; and when disengaged, especially in the evenings, he endeavoured, by conversation and prayer-meetings, to make the adults acquainted with the same eternal truths.

"Rabenohaja had been among the first of the natives who expressed a wish to be baptized, and would gladly have joined the first baptisms in May, 1831, but his master had not then granted his consent, nor allowed him to spend a fortnight or three weeks in town, as he wished to do on that occasion. Afterwards, however, permission was given, and he immediately repaired to town for that purpose. There needed very little examination before baptizing Rabenohaja, as his conduct had long been, not merely irreproachable, but truly ornamental to his Christian profession. He was therefore admitted by the Rev. Mr. Griffiths to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, on November 5, 1831.

"With regard to his new name, it may be remarked, that we had never encouraged, but rather discouraged the natives in changing their proper and original names, both to prevent any appearance of affectation in the choice of scriptural names, and to avoid the appearance of singularity, which the change would occasion in the eyes of the unbelieving multitude. The converts, therefore, pronounced their names immediately before the administration of baptism, no previous inquiry being made. It was then that Rabenohaja first pronounced for his name the singular word, 'Ra-poor-negro.' Mr. Griffiths was rather surprised, and inquired again, 'Ra-poor-negro, do you say?' 'Yes,' said he, 'that is the name I wish to take;' and so he was forthwith baptized, Ra-poor-negro. The monosyllable 'Ra,' it should be observed, has no meaning in itself, but is merely a prefix, showing the word

that follows to be a proper name. The word is therefore simply equivalent to, 'The poor Negro.'

"I afterwards asked him how he came to think of so singular a name. 'Oh,' said he, 'I had seen in your printing-office the tract of The Poor Negro, with a wood-cut representing him with his knees bended, and his eyes lifted up to heaven; and I thought, being a slave like him, there was nothing I so much desired, as to become like him in disposition; and therefore I took his name.' I explained to him that the words, Poor Negro, were not a proper name, but pointed out the state and character. 'Well,' said he, 'I wish it may prove a true description of my character, as it certainly is of my condition in life.'

"Immediately after this, he prepared to return to his master in the village sixty or seventy miles to the westward. He had been twice sick of the endemic fever of Madagascar, which prevails at that distance from the capital; and he entertained some apprehension that a third attack might prove fatal. He even went so far as to say to some of his most intimate believing friends, 'I think we shall not see each other's faces again on earth; Jesus will soon fetch me.

"A few weeks afterwards, he wrote to me for a new supply of spelling and reading books; and for some weeks longer, we continued to hear of his increased activity and zeal in teaching and exhorting all persons who would listen to him.

"After a while, however, the melancholy news suddenly reached us that Ra-poor-negro was dead. An attack of the fever had suddenly terminated his earthly course. Two of his adult scholars came to town expressly to announce to us this sad intelligence. They said he was only ill three days, and during that period repeatedly exclaimed, 'I am going to Jehovah-Jesus; Jesus is fetching me, I do not fear.' It may be remarked that this expression, 'Jehovah-Jesus,' is one which the natives have of themselves adopted, without any suggestion of ours. I do not think any of the Missionary brethren have ever used it, yet on my leaving Madagascar, several of the native Christians used as their farewell benediction, 'May you be blessed of Jehovah-Jesus.'

"The last expression, Ra-poor-negro used, and that he uttered repeatedly, was, 'I do not fear,' 'I do not fear.'"

Mr. Baker thus closes the account of the first Christian death in Madagascar:

"I may be allowed to remark, that these brief and simple words, uttered in the hour of death, by the lips of one who had been once a heathen, bear as strong an emphasis as human language can admit. And whence the peculiar emphasis? It arises hence—that the simple and artless minds of the heathen do not attempt to conceal their dread of death. The stoutest-hearted men will, as I have had occasion to observe in Madagascar, when stretched on a death-bed, exclaim with all the feebleness of children, and the anguish of despair, 'I die, I die; O mother! O father! I die;' whilst the big tears will trickle down their olive cheeks in abundance. In accordance with such feelings, the natives shun all conversation on death, as most repugnant to their feelings, and account it the height of cruelty to speak of the probability of a sick friend's death, even to his relatives. The infidels of Christendom, indeed, affect to scoff at death, and pretend to face it boldly; but the language of nature, like that I have been describing, will always prove that there is a 'bitterness of death,' which no mere human strength of mind or heart can overcome. It is an affecting sight to see a heathen die. O how inestimable, then, is that 'truth of God,' which can enable a poor slave to say with his last breath, 'I do not fear.'

"The native Christians were much affected with this expression, and the more so as Ra-poor-negro was the first of the baptized Christians in Madagascar whom the providence of God removed from the present scene of existence."

One of the native Christians was at this time appointed to the office of judge, in consequence of the death of his father. This was the first time this important post had ever been filled by a Christian.

A number of native youths had been taught to work at the press; and these, under the judicious and constant superintendence of Mr. Baker, had been actively employed in printing the Old Testament and other books. The former was completed, as far as the Psalms, 1000 extra

copies of which were printed for separate distribution. Large editions of spelling and other elementary books; also an edition of a collection of hymns was provided, not only in order to meet existing wants, but to provide against any views or measures that might prohibit the operations of the press altogether. The printing of the remainder of the Old Testament was now deferred by the Missionaries; and circumstances rendering it desirable for Mr. Baker to visit his native country, he left Madagascar in the end of June, and reached England on the 26th of December, 1832.

Uncertain and discouraging as the prospects of the Christians in Madagascar had been ever since the death of Radama, and precariously as they had repeatedly found the tenure by which they held their privileges to be, the security of the heathen party, who had assumed the supreme power in the island, was far from being undisturbed; and the causes for just apprehension of their continuance in the position, of which, through blood and crime, they had possessed themselves, were neither unfrequent nor trifling. In this respect, the attack of the French was to them rather advantageous than otherwise; it diverted the minds of the people from the grounds of dissatisfaction against the authorities at home, and called forth their united energies to resist a common foe. On this account, it is probable, they were not unfavourable to the circulation of reports, and the consequent prolonged apprehensions of the people, that the French would renew their hostilities on the coast. About the time that the first report of the expected arrival of the French expedition reached the capital, intelligence was received that a large body of Sakalavas had approached the district of Vonizongo, a short distance to the west of the capital, with the intention of invading the province of

Imerina, and attacking the capital itself. A body of troops was sent to oppose them, but the Sakalavas returned before their arrival.

In 1831 a large force was sent against some provinces in the south. This was under the command of the chief military officer in the government, and the most determined supporter of the idols. Before the army left the capital, a public ceremonial was observed, for the purpose of placing the expedition under the direction of Rakelimalaza, one of the chief national idols, and thus securing his protection for the troops, and his assistance in the war. On this occasion, the several regiments composing the army were assembled in the presence of vast numbers of the people, who assembled to witness the spectacle. The idol was borne by his keepers through the lines, followed by priests, who carried vessels containing what they considered sacred or consecrated water, with which the men were sprinkled in the name of the idol, as the idol was carried through their ranks. This, it was pretended by the priests and the heathen general, would preserve them in the time of danger, and favour their success. There were a number of Christians in this army, and they respectfully solicited, through their officers, permission to be absent from the ceremony, as they could not, without violating their consciences, be parties in any service that would imply belief or confidence in the idols. The general complied with their request, simply adding, that Rakelimalaza would be revenged upon them. The troops shortly afterwards left the capital, and entered the country of those whom it was their intention to plunder, subjugate, or destroy. The army was formed in three divisions, the largest of which was commanded by the general himself, who had the idol carried in the midst of the ranks, in order to ensure his success. In the disposition of the

forces, it is also added, that the Christians were placed in the most exposed situations, where there was the greatest probability of their being among the first who should fall.

In this campaign the two minor divisions of the army were unusually successful, scarcely losing any of their number, and securing a large amount of booty, chiefly cattle and slaves. The main body of forces, on the contrary, suffered a lamentable defeat. In the early part of their operations, when attacking a fortified town, (a species of warfare, in which the power of the idol is peculiarly celebrated,) the general was successfully resisted, and obliged to retire, having lost about 1100 men, between 400 and 500 of which were regular troops. The division never recovered the effect of their loss, which was unparalleled in all the wars which the Hovas had carried on with other tribes in the island; and they ultimately returned without booty, — considerably lowered in the estimation of the other sections of the army, and of the community in general.

The conduct of the Christian soldiers, during this and other campaigns, was highly commendable. Though equally exposed with the others, and on some occasions more so, it is not known that one of them was killed; they were also distinguished by their kindness and consideration towards those who were conquered, as well as by the honesty and the moral purity of their conduct. They also availed themselves of every suitable occasion for holding meetings in each other's tents, on the Sabbath, and at other times, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, singing, and prayer. These had the happiness of finding many others desirous of joining them in these exercises, who afterwards associated themselves with the Christians, and professed their belief in the gospel. On more than one occasion, when the

army returned to the capital after an absence of several months, the Christians went to the Missionaries accompanied by a considerable number of their comrades, who through their means had been induced to forsake the delusive superstitions of the country, and to seek admission among the disciples of the Saviour.

Though disaster had attended the chief body of the forces employed in 1831, the government sent another army in the same direction in the following year. The officers exercising the chief power, and the Hovas generally, did not feel themselves secure in their assumed sovereignty, so long as any considerable portion of the inhabitants of the island were in circumstances to maintain their own independence; nor could they rest satisfied with their enviable distinction in regard to the wealth they had obtained, so long as any tribe possessed herds of cattle, or other property that was worth taking, and of which they felt themselves strong enough to deprive them.

Influenced by these considerations, another large force, headed by the young prince, was sent by the Hovas to the southern part of the island, early in 1832. This expedition was successful in carrying devastation and bloodshed through a large tract of country, murdering great numbers of the men, reducing their wives and children to slavery, robbing their fields and granaries, and driving away their cattle. On the first of September 1832, the Hovas returned to the capital with immense booty, as well as about 10,000 unhappy captives, to be sold into slavery.

The satisfaction which this successful expedition had produced was of but short duration, as reports arrived, in the course of the ensuing month, that another expedition from France, destined against Madagascar, had arrived at Bourbon, and might be almost daily expected on the coast.

All ordinary occupations were suspended, and the public attention completely engrossed by the efforts of the government to prepare against the expected invasion. It was proposed to add 25,000 men to the forces already enrolled; and for this purpose, every one in the schools, both pupils and teachers, upwards of thirteen years of age, was drafted into the army. It was also expected that the remaining junior classes would also be taken in the next reinforcement that might be ordered; and this proceeding, as might be expected, rendered the parents more unwilling than ever to send their children to the schools under the patronage of the government.

To prevent their being drawn into the army, many of their parents resorted to the plan of purchasing slaves, and sending them to school as substitutes for their own children; by which means their own children escaped when the army was reinforced from the schools, and it was supposed that this was one cause of the order forbidding the instruction of slaves, for the order was not so rigidly enforced as some had been.

Shortly after the report of the arrival of a French expedition at Bourbon, an emissary from the court of Rome landed at Tamatave, bearing, as he stated, propositions for the introduction of the Romish faith among the people. The ecclesiastic represented himself as Count Henry de Solage, vicar apostolic. He had been to India and New South Wales, and stated that he was charged with special communication from Charles the Tenth, king of France, and the pope. He wished to proceed to the capital, but was detained by Prince Corroller on the coast, until the pleasure of the queen could be known; and letters announcing his arrival were sent up to the capital. In the mean time he persisted in going towards the capital, and after

advancing a few days' journey, being met by the queen's officers from the capital, his bearers, apprehensive of the consequences of their displeasure, left him. He refused to return to the coast, and remained at Ambatoharanana, where, while waiting permission from the queen to advance, he died suddenly, not without strong suspicions of having poisoned himself. Though, on the arrival of the envoy from the pope, the government exhibited no disposition to favour the efforts of popish missionaries in the island, their disinclination did not arise from any wish to promote the objects of the Protestants who had laboured among them so many years. The value of the enterprise, energy, and skill of the artisans belonging to the Mission, who were employed either in their respective departments, or in superintending and completing works of great national importance, they were fully sensible of, and held also in high estimation, but solely for the purposes of government, the knowledge of letters acquired in the schools: and in consideration of these advantages, the party whose counsels prevailed in the palace, rather tolerated than encouraged the efforts of the Missionaries to diffuse religious knowledge, and promote the moral and spiritual benefit of the people.

Circumscribed as the means of usefulness now were, in comparison with what they had been during the reign of Radama, and the earlier periods of that of his successor, the increasing frequency of events, which showed distinctly to the Missionaries the extreme uncertainty of the continuance of present advantages, stimulated them to the most active and unremitted efforts; while the multiplied and decisive evidence that their labours were attended by the Divine blessing, enabled them to bear with cheerfulness the withdrawment of that countenance from the rulers of the country, with which their exertions had formerly been attended.

After every youth above thirteen, and many scarcely more than twelve years of age, had, in the close of 1832, been taken from the schools to the army, orders were issued by the government, that the schools should be furnished with fresh pupils, to the amount of half the number originally under instruction.

The extreme unwillingness of the people to transfer their children to the government, as they seemed to have been doing by sending them to the schools established by order of the sovereign, occasioned the loss of many months before these schools were again in operation; and three thousand scholars were never afterwards collected, in what had been considered the national schools.

The Missionaries had from the first regretted that the greater part of the scholars under their care attended the schools not simply from any desire of their own, or of their parents, after instruction, but because they were ordered to do so by the sovereign. They had reason to believe that Radama, in using his influence to induce the people to send their children to school, was chiefly desirous to introduce the knowledge of letters among them, and hoped that the arts of reading and writing would be prized, and voluntarily cultivated, especially as those who had made the greatest proficiency were rewarded by marks of special favour, being raised to offices of honour and emolument.

The subsequent conduct of the government in taking in almost the entire number of scholars from the schools direct to the army, or the service of the government, had increased the aversion of the people to these schools: and although the instruction given, had, by the Divine blessing, been the means of spiritual benefit to many, the attendance ordered by the government undoubtedly proved a very serious impediment to the advancement of education among the

people. The regret thus occasioned to the Missionaries was generally alleviated by the growing earnestness of many, both adults and children, to acquire the ability to read for themselves the Holy Scriptures. The numbers who thus voluntarily sought instruction, was greatly increased during the years 1833 and 4; and though large editions of the spelling, and other elementary books, were printed, sometimes amounting to nearly five thousand each, the Missionaries were not able to meet the growing demand.

This disposition among the people encouraged and required the utmost activity in the preparation of books; and in 1833, not fewer than fifteen thousand copies, and portions of the Scriptures, and other books, were furnished, and upwards of six thousand of them put into circulation as soon as they were ready. In the absence of Mr. Baker, the printing and bookbinding of the Mission was executed by the natives, whom he had taught before his departure for England, and by Mr. Kitching, one of the artisans.

The Missionaries devoted much of their time to the translation and revision of the Old Testament, that in the event of any change in the views of the government, and other causes arising to suspend their labours, or remove them from the island, they might leave with the people the entire volume of divine revelation. In this important work, as well as in their stated labours in preaching the gospel, they were greatly encouraged by the increasing numbers attending on their ministry, and the decisive evidence given by the people, that the word they delivered was, by the favour of the Most High, rendered in many instances a savour of life unto life.

The earnest desires after religious instruction, and the pleasing state of mind and feeling on this important subject evinced by so many at the capital, extended also to

other parts of the country. Wherever the native Christians went, they carried with them the New Testament, and other portions of the Scriptures, as well as spelling-books, catechisms, and hymn-books. Unfolding in their conversation, and exhibiting in their example, the doctrines and tendencies of the gospel, they acted as Missionaries, and induced many to learn to read, to believe on the living God, to trust in the only Saviour, and to unite with them in the observance of the Sabbath, and other means of honouring God, and promoting their own spiritual improvement. Sometimes these Christians met together for the purpose of instruction or worship in each other's dwellings, and at other times they erected their little sanctuaries in the midst of the heathen villages, where they assembled to call upon the name of the Lord, and, in dependence upon the teaching of the Holy Spirit, to instruct others in the knowledge of his will, and the way of salvation.

Desirous to assist and encourage the native Christians in these truly commendable exertions on behalf of their countrymen, and to promote the extension of Christianity, the Missionaries made occasional journeys of considerable extent, for the purpose of visiting the Christians, and preaching to the people. These visits were joyfully received, and in many instances proved highly advantageous to the Christian cause. Finding the instructions given by their countrymen confirmed by the European Missionary, and, it is hoped, influenced by the Holy Spirit's operation in their hearts, many were induced to renounce their adherence to the idols, to place themselves under Christian instruction, to declare their belief in the Holy Scriptures, and to unite themselves with the professed disciples of Christ. They threw away their charms, and other emblems of idolatry; some burned, some destroyed their idols, others

afterwards brought them to the Missionaries, gratefully declaring their thankfulness for the instruction they had received, and exhibiting the idols as a proof of their sincerity in avowed attachment to the Lord Jesus as their only Saviour.

Amongst the idols thus renounced, was one which had belonged to several clans or families who resided about six miles from the capital; it was considered as the more immediate property of the head-man, or chief of the district, in whose family it had been kept for many generations; but most of the people in the neighbourhood were its votaries, and united in providing the bullocks and sheep that were sacrificed to it, or the money given to its keepers.

The idol is a most unmeaning object, consisting of a number of small pieces of wood, ornaments of ivory, of silver, and brass, and beads, fastened together with silver wire, and decorated with a number of silver rings. The central piece of wood is circular, about seven inches high, and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This central piece is surrounded by six short pieces of wood, and six hollow silver ornaments, called crocodile's teeth, from their resemblance to the teeth of that animal. Three pieces of wood are placed on one side of the central piece of wood, and three on the side opposite; the intervening space being filled up by the three silver and brazen ornaments. These ornaments are hollow, and those of brass were occasionally anointed with what was regarded as sacred oil, or other unguents, which were much used in the consecration of charms and other emblems of native superstition. The silver ornaments were detached from the idol, filled with small pieces of consecrated wood, and worn upon the persons of the keepers when going to war, or passing through a fever district, as a means of preservation. Besides the pieces of wood in

the crocodile's tooth, small pieces of a dark, close-grained wood cut nearly square, or oblong, and about half-an-inch long, were strung like beads on a cord, and attached to the idol, or worn on the person of those who carried the silver ornaments. The chief of the district, who had the custody of the idol, had two sons, officers in the army. To one of these, with another individual, he delegated the authority to sell these small pieces of consecrated wood, which were supposed to be pervaded with the power of the idol, and to preserve its possessors from peril or death, in seasons of war, or regions of pestilence. This was a source of great emolument, for, such was the reputed virtue or potency of the charm, that a couple of bullocks, the same number of sheep, of goats, fowls, and dollars, besides articles of smaller value, were frequently given for one or two of the small pieces of wood attached to the idol.

In 1832, Mr. Johns visited the district, to inspect the schools and instruct the people. He stopped at the village where the idol was deposited, and spent much time with the family of the chief by whom it was kept, having met with one of his sons who usually resided at the capital, and whose wife was nearly related to some of highest rank in the kingdom. On parting, the Missionary requested this young officer to call on him; which he did, on returning to Tananarivo. Mr. Johns resumed his conversation with him on the subject of Christianity, and gave him a copy of the New Testament. The reading of this book, and the instructions of his friend the Missionary, convinced him of the sin and folly of idol-worship, and led him humbly to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and gratefully to rejoice in the announcements of mercy contained in the gospel. He afterwards gave the most satisfactory evidence of having experienced a change of heart, and was among

the first, in 1831, who desired by baptism publicly to profess the name of the Lord Jesus. The deepest solicitude of this young Christian was now awakened on behalf of his relatives, and he used with great industry, but kindness, all his endeavours to convince them of the errors and sins of idolatry, to induce them to inquire into the claims of the gospel. These efforts excited great displeasure, and exposed him for a time to much reproach and some persecution, from all, excepting one individual, a nephew, who had been one of the pupils in the schools, and was a constant reader of the sacred Scriptures. By the blessing of the Lord on his conversation and example, several of his relatives declared themselves Christians; the sale of the charms had been discontinued ever since the son of the chief had received the gospel, and the discontinuance of the worship of the idol in the family was now proposed, but strongly and successfully opposed by the parents, who, while they mourned over the apostasy of their son, grieved not less at the loss of property which the change in his views and conduct had occasioned. The individual associated with him in selling the sacred pieces of wood, was often heard to say, that when they sold the charms, the family always possessed abundance, and were strangers to want, but that now they were as poor as others.

The Christian part of the family continued, with great kindness and affection, to endeavour to induce the chief to attend to the pure, holy, and glorious announcements of the gospel, but without visible benefit, while the heathen party in the neighbourhood became greatly enraged against the Christians.

It had never, since the death of Radama, been difficult to obtain accusations against any one favourable to the system of religion taught by the Missionaries; and, towards

the close of 1832, the officer who had first embraced the gospel, was accused to the queen of having practised witchcraft, and was in consequence required to submit to the usual test, the trial by poison-water, or tangena. When the time was fixed for his taking the ordeal, some of his relatives wished to have recourse to the sikidy, or divination, in order to secure a favourable issue; for much as his parents and more immediate relatives grieved on account of the erroneous views, as they considered them, which he had imbibed, they were not willing that he should be sacrificed to his enemies. But he resolutely refused to allow of any application to the diviners, declaring that it would be sin in him to let it be supposed he believed them entitled to the slightest confidence. He declared his innocence, and said, that, since he was compelled to pass the ordeal, he committed himself unto God. This determination, in the opinion of his relatives, sealed his doom beyond hope of reversal, as they supposed that, since he had despised the idols and the sikidy, it was scarcely possible for him to escape.

Under these circumstances the poison-water was administered, and the signs of innocence appearing very soon afterwards, he was pronounced free from the crime laid to his charge, and restored to his family and friends, who were so deeply affected by his deliverance, that, from that time, strong doubts of the validity of the claim of the idols and divination took possession of their minds. This feeling increased till they renounced these objects of superstitious worship, became pupils of the Christian members of the family, and expressed their desires to unite in Christian worship.

Soon after his recovery from the effects of the poison-water, the officer paid a visit to his parents, who welcomed

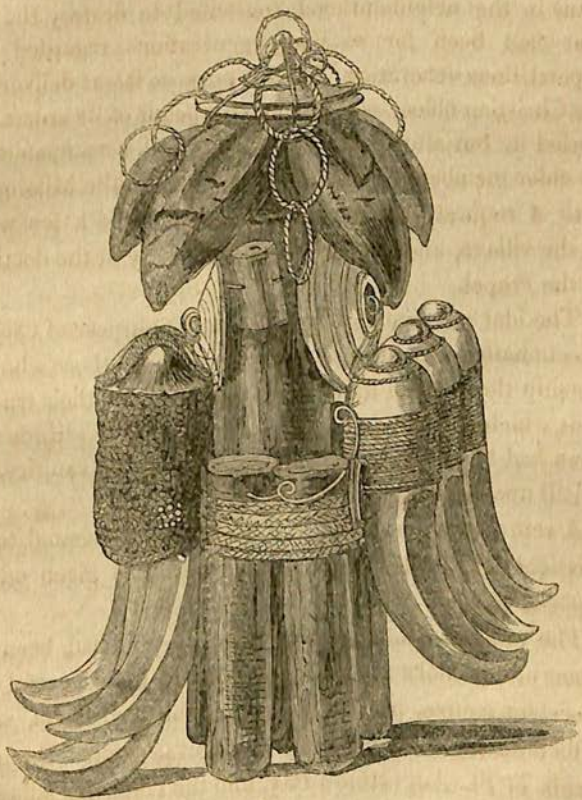
him with grateful affection, and received with earnest attention and delight his instruction and encouragement to persevere in seeking to know and serve the true God. The son remained at this time a few weeks with his father, and during his stay, his parents and relatives, among the clans in the neighbourhood, consented to destroy the idol that had been for so many generations regarded with superstitious veneration. For this purpose it was delivered to the Christian officer, who having stripped it of its ornaments, buried it, but afterwards dug it up, and, accompanied by an elder member of his family, brought it to the Missionary, with a request that he would go and spend a few weeks in the village, and instruct them more fully in the doctrines of the gospel.

The idol was sent to England, for the purpose of exciting affectionate sympathy and commiseration for those who still worship the work of their own hands, and put their trust in gods which cannot save, as well as to excite gratitude that some had been induced to cast away their lying vanities, and to call upon the name of the Lord.

A representation of this idol, which was presented to the Missionaries in the early part of 1833, is given on the opposite page.

The amiable and devoted Christian who had been the means of the idol's rejection, persevered in his useful and consistent course, until the close of the year 1833, when he died during a campaign of the Hovas against the inhabitants of St. Augustine's Bay, and the countries adjacent. The Missionary was much gratified with his devout, cheerful, and humble state of mind before leaving the capital. His end was peace. Several of his relations also died in the faith; others remain among the most steadfast Christians in the island.

A MALAGASSY IDOL.



Shortly after the period now under review, a report reached the capital that the small-pox had appeared in the northern provinces, and was destroying multitudes of the people. This induced the Missionaries to send to the Mauritius for some vaccine matter, to preserve their own families, and, if possible, to introduce it into other parts of the island.

In the month of July, the Missionaries had received the idol above referred to. Mr. Freeman having been led to expect the arrival of Mrs. Freeman from England, went to the coast to meet her, and aid her in her journey to the capital. On reaching Tamatave, he found the lymph containing the vaccine had arrived, and, at the earnest request of Mr. Reddington, a friendly trader residing on the coast, he was induced to vaccinate his children, as a means of preserving them from the dreaded scourge then spreading among the people. A report of this proceeding was carried to the queen, in which it was said that he had inoculated for the small-pox. Mr. Reddington was required to remove into the country; the trade with the Europeans was suspended; and on Mr. Freeman's wishing to return to Tananarivo, he was prevented until express permission was received from the queen.

This occasioned considerable inconvenience; and though, when the requisite explanations were given, the difficulties were removed, the circumstance served to show the vigilance of the enemies of the Mission, and the readiness with which any advantage was taken of circumstances that might afford occasions for depriving them of the confidence of the people, or impeding their operations.

Notwithstanding the frequency of occurrences equally unfavourable, the Missionaries cherished the confident expectation that their Mission would succeed, that the

influence of Christianity would extend, and the power of idolatry decline. In this expectation they were encouraged by the growing attention to personal religion among numbers of the people, the extent to which the knowledge of the gospel was by means of native Christians diffused, and the great influence which the youths who had been pupils, but who now held important offices in the army or the service of the government, seemed to possess. Many of the officers, to whom the youths instructed in the schools acted as aides-de-camp or writers, wished them still to attend the Missionaries for further instruction; and in compliance with their wishes, a class was formed, to whom the Missionaries devoted a considerable portion of their time, in giving instruction in several branches of knowledge not taught in the public schools, at the same time blending with the whole the study of the sacred Scriptures.

Early in the spring of 1834, Mr. and Mrs. Baker embarked for Madagascar, accompanied by Mrs. Freeman, whose re-established health enabled her to return to Mr. Freeman. They reached Tamatave on the first of July, 1834. Here they were met by Mr. Freeman, who accompanied them to the capital, where Mr. Baker rejoiced greatly on witnessing the progress of the Mission, and the evidences of spiritual good among the people.

During Mr. Baker's stay in England, an edition of 5000 copies of the Psalms had been printed under his superintendence, in the native language, and bound up for the use of the Malagasy by the British and Foreign Bible Society. A large edition of a spelling-book, and of Russell's catechism, in the same language, had also been printed, by means of a handsome donation of fifty pounds from Mr. Cameron, and were found exceedingly useful among the people.

Anxious to afford any facility for completing the printing of the entire Scriptures, and multiplying books, the directors of the London Missionary Society sent out a new printing-press and types by Mr. Baker; and these the government ordered to be taken up to the capital free of expense to the Missionaries.—The carrying of packages for the government was often an extremely severe service, and sometimes proved fatal to the bearers. On one occasion, several were injured, and two died: when the occurrence was reported to the queen, she replied, with the heartless indifference of one whose political creed is, that the people exist for the sovereign, not the sovereign for the people—"And what then? Was it not in the service of the government that they died?"

Soon after the arrival of the first Missionaries in Madagascar, Radama enacted a law which allowed them to remain there ten years without becoming subject to the laws and usages of the country, but requiring them, at the expiration of that period, to become subject to the laws of the island, or leave the country, unless the permission to remain was renewed. In the year 1829, Mr. Griffiths, having been ten years in the country, requested to know the queen's wishes, and received, in reply to his inquiry, a message directing him to "tie up his luggage, and return to his native country." After much negociation, Mr. Griffiths was allowed to remain first for one year, afterwards for a longer period. Before he left the island, Mr. Griffiths' relation with the Missionary Society terminated, and he has since returned to Madagascar, though not in connexion with the Society.

In 1834, Mr. Canham, having been ten years in the island, received a message from the queen expressing her majesty's expectation that he would leave the country.

Mr. Canham had originally joined the Mission as an artisan, but not receiving sufficient encouragement from the government to enable him successfully to prosecute the preparation of leather, he had, in compliance with the request of the Missionaries, and the approval of the Society at home, devoted his attention to the religious instruction of the people. The order of the government for Mr. Canham's departure was deeply regretted by the Missionaries, who made several attempts to secure for him a longer residence in the country; but these proving unavailing, excepting for a period of twelve months, he departed from Tananarivo with his family on the 17th of July, and sailed from the island on the first of August, 1834.

The desirableness and practicability of establishing a branch station, or a distinct Mission, at St. Augustine's Bay, on the south-western coast of the island, occupied the attention of the Missionaries at this time; but, after collecting all the information they could obtain, they found that it could not be attempted without placing in jeopardy not only the new Mission itself, but also that existing in Imerina.

The remaining Missionaries felt more urgently than ever the call to labour to the utmost while any means of usefulness continued, and they renewed their exertions to complete the revision of the Scriptures, that the whole might be in the hands of the people, if possible, before their own labours should be closed. A new printing-house was erected, and every means taken to place the printing establishment in a state of the utmost efficiency.

The labours of the artisans who taught the natives to work in wood and iron, continued to be highly prized by the people, and Mr. Cameron, who had just finished the erection of a mill, was applied to by the government to under-

take the establishment of an iron foundery and a glass manufactory. He acceded to the proposal; and it was arranged, that, before commencing the foundery, he should proceed to England, accompanied by two or three native youths, who were not only desirous of visiting this country for a season, but had been selected by the government as eminently qualified to derive great advantage from a visit to the manufactories of Great Britain.

CHAP. XVII.

Beneficial influence of the artisans—Pleasing expectations of the Missionaries—The natives generally forbidden by the government to learn to read—Accusations against the native Christians on account of their religious profession and moral conduct—Displeasure of the queen at the progress of Christianity—Diligent attendance of many of the natives on the means of religious improvement—The Christians charged with alienating the affections of the people from the queen, with a view of aiding the English in the seizure of the country—Wrath of the queen—Convening of a national assembly—Letter from the queen to the Missionaries prohibiting the profession of the Christian faith by the natives—Answer of the Missionaries—Message to the national assembly, forbidding, on pain of death, the profession of Christianity, or the observance of Christian ordinances—Fines and degradations inflicted on those who had professed to believe the gospel—Unsuccessful attempts of the Missionaries to induce the queen to exercise lenity towards the natives—Natives forbidden to remember the religious instructions they had received—Notice of the probable causes of the attempt to suppress Christianity in Madagascar.

THE efforts of the Missionary Society to promote a knowledge of the useful arts, and other means of civilization, in Madagascar, had always been favourable to their higher objects, but they never appeared more important than at the present time, when the spiritual aspect of the Mission was so peculiarly encouraging, and the labours of the Christian instructors were rendered by the Divine blessing so eminently successful. The impression had long been forced upon the Missionaries, that they were only tolerated by the government, for the sake of the secular advantages derived from those of their number who laboured in the working of wood and iron, constructing machinery, and

other public works. They could not, therefore, but regard with pleasing hopes the proposal of the government to enter into fresh engagements with Mr. Cameron, thus affording the prospect of their being permitted to labour without interruption, at least for several years to come; an object for which they were ready to make almost any sacrifice, as their continuance among the people had never seemed more desirable than now, when they were beginning to reap the fruits of the labours of many anxious and toilsome years.

Cheered by these expectations, the Missionaries applied themselves with fresh courage to the work, and in describing to their friends at home, the progress and prospects of the Mission, under date, Nov. 6th, 1834, expressed themselves as follows:

"We have been exceedingly gratified with the personal conduct of many. There is a seriousness and steadiness, and perseverance and diligence about them, which constrain us to hope that their hearts have been opened by Him, by whose sovereign grace

> "Dry bones are raised and clothed afresh,
> And hearts of stone are turned to flesh."

We look on with wonder and surprise, and are often prompted to exclaim, This is the finger of God. The difficulty still remains, as intimated in our last report, of ascertaining the numbers under religious impressions. But we have reason to think that several are savingly converted to God; that many more are perfectly convinced of the folly of idolatry and divination; and that great numbers are awakened to think and inquire. The force of error is subdued, and the power of truth acknowledged. The preached word is listened to attentively, and the Scriptures are earnestly sought, and diligently examined. There are also several prayer-meetings held in the town during the week-evenings. The two principal circumstances which we wish to notice in connexion with these meetings are, first, that a spirit of prayer actually exists and increases among the natives; and second, that these meetings are

convened and conducted by natives themselves. They frequently request our attendance, to give an exhortation, and lead the service; but the houses are their own residences, and they consider themselves as acting on their own convictions—at the movement of their own minds, and from a consideration of present obligation to employ the means in their power of spreading around their respective neighbourhoods the knowledge of the true God, and of eternal life.

"It is not, however, exclusively in connexion with these stations that fall immediately under our own personal observation, that a spirit of hearing and inquiry is awakened; God appears to manifest his purposes of mercy to this people, in raising up an agency of his own from among themselves, to carry on his own work. He is forming for himself his own instruments—giving them zeal and knowledge—imbuing them with love to the truth, and compassion for their countrymen, and thus supplying the exigencies of his cause by their unexpected instrumentality, and so compensating for our lack of service. And as a specific illustration of this point, we may remark, that in a district to the west of the capital, at a village about sixty miles distant, a small chapel has been lately erected by the zeal and devotedness of the natives, chiefly excited, however, by the exertions of a pious woman, of whom we have already written to you. A very delightful spirit of inquiry is awakened in that district; and several of the adult natives, men of rank and importance in their station, conduct prayer-meetings, and engage themselves in those exercises with much apparent fervour, pleasure, and propriety. Another chapel is also being erected in a district to the south, perhaps 120 miles distant. Public worship, chiefly for prayer and reading the Scriptures, is held in many distant parts of the country, principally raised and conducted by those who were formerly scholars or teachers in the missionary schools. Applications from all these for books, and especially for the Scriptures, are very numerous.

Signed, "D. JOHNS—J. J. FREEMAN."

The hopes cherished when this communication was made were not continued long; the month had scarcely closed before the Missionaries were informed that the queen had forbidden any persons to learn to read or write, except in

the schools established by the government. This was the heaviest stroke that had yet fallen upon the Mission; the brethren desired to recognize in the affliction, the supremacy of the Most High—believing that no event, especially none affecting the advancement of truth and righteousness in the earth, could take place without the Divine knowledge and permission; and, in the hope that the prohibition might not be rigidly enforced, they devoted themselves more zealously than ever to the only remaining means of usefulness—the preaching of the gospel, the labours of the press, and the superintendence of the schools still tolerated in the island.

The year 1835 opened upon the Mission without any sign of a more favourable regard from the government; and a number of the natives, who, actuated by inferior motives, had attached themselves to the Missionaries, perceiving the unpopularity of the Christians, withdrew from them, and associated with the heathen portions of the community. The hopes of favour from the parties in power, indulged by the heathen, were at this time greatly increased by the jealousy with which the former watched every movement of the Christians. The queen does not appear to have cherished any unfriendly feeling towards the Missionaries personally, and often seemed disposed to tolerate their exertions; but she was the zealous votary of the idols, on whose favour she was taught to believe her continuance in power depended. Among her ministers were three brothers, the eldest was commander-in-chief of the forces, the second first officer of the palace, and the third a judge; two of them were the queen's paramours, and all were pledged to raise the idols, and former superstitions of the country, to their original importance. These brothers exercised in the name of the queen supreme power in Madagascar; they appear, from the time of Radama's death, to have seized every occa-

sion for impeding the progress of Christianity, and to have aimed at the ultimate expulsion of the Missionaries, and the extinction of the Christian faith. Towards this object they advanced more directly, or otherwise, as they could influence the mind of the queen, or others whose co-operation or connivance was necessary, or as circumstances occurring among the people favoured their views. Hitherto they had connived at the disregard of the idols shown by the Christians, but now deemed it inexpedient any longer to forbear the expression of their displeasure against them. These officers were probably led openly to oppose the spread of religious knowledge, by finding that the adherents to the new faith were extending themselves among all ranks in society, and that their principles encouraged regard to their own rule of action, obedience to the known will of God, independent of all human control, and irrespective of all consequences.

Among the near relatives of these brothers were some sincere and consistent Christians; besides others, one young man, a nephew, whom they appointed to be keeper of one of the idols which they placed in his house. Early in January this year, this young man was told by one of the chiefs, who had adopted him as his son, that at the annual festival, then approaching, the queen would present a bullock to the idol, which he must kill in sacrifice, and eat part of it in honour of the idol, — burning some of the fat as incense before it. His declining to do this, greatly enraged the chiefs against himself, and those principles which emboldened him thus to refuse the requirements of the gods of the country. About the same time a native Christian remarked, in conversation with his relatives, that their confidence in the idols was misplaced, as of themselves they could do neither good nor harm. This native Christian

was also seen at work on one of the days regarded by the heathen as sacred to the idols. The people of the neighbourhood employed one of their relatives to prefer a complaint against this individual to one of the queen's officers. The officer readily agreed to bring the accusation before the judges, but took measures for including in the charge all who professed Christianity.

Towards the close of January, 1835, he brought the complaints against the individual who had spoken against the idol, and worked on one of the sacred days, before the chief judge, and requested the interference of the government against the Christians, urging the following grounds of complaint.

1. They despise the idols of the land.

2. They are always praying; they hold meetings in their own houses for prayer, without authority from the queen; and even before and after meals they pray.

3. They will not swear by the opposite sex (according to the usual custom of the country,) but, if required to swear, merely affirm that what they say is true.

4. Their women are chaste, and therefore different customs from those established in the country are introduced.*

5. They are all of one mind respecting their religion.

6. They observe the Sabbath as a sacred day.

To these, other charges were added, equally honourable to those against whom they were preferred. The judge before whom the complaints were laid, said that if they did any thing against the idols, that must be carried to the queen; but that no charge could be sustained against people for praying, or being honest, or chaste.

* No vice is more prominent or offensive to the purity and honour of Christian virtue than the gross licentiousness of the Malagasy, especially of those of elevated rank or office, whose power is often used in the degradation of those under their authority.

The complainant, however, was encouraged by other judges, and by several officers of the government; and ultimately the whole was brought before the queen. The man who had spoken against the idols was ordered to drink the tangena, that it might be ascertained whether he had intended to revile the idols or not. The accused Christian was preserved through the ordeal, and declared innocent, but it was reported, that though the tangena did not prove him guilty, the queen considered the conduct of the Christians such as to merit her extreme displeasure.

Shortly after this, it was reported that the queen being ill, the chief officer in the government was sent to the place where one of the national idols was kept, for a powerful charm, which it was supposed would remove her sickness. On his way to the capital with the emblems of the idol, and the charm for which he had been sent, some of his relatives, who were Christians, spoke of the inutility of recourse to the idols or charms on such occasions, and spoke of the true God as the only restorer of health, and preserver of life; adding, that multitudes in the country held similar opinions. This was reported to the queen, and greatly increased her displeasure against the Christians. On the 15th of February, which was the Sabbath, the queen went out in great state, being carried in a sort of palanquin, surrounded by troops, and proceeded by numbers of women, officers, and nobles. The royal party passed by one of the chapels while the congregation assembled for public worship were singing; and on this occasion the queen was heard to say, in reference to their worship, "They will not stop till some of them lose their heads."

The Christians were neither ignorant of the charges preferred against them, nor of the feelings with which they were regarded by the queen, and could scarcely avoid

apprehending some expression of their sovereign's displeasure. An unusual seriousness was visible in all their public and social meetings during the early part of the year; and seldom had larger or more deeply attentive congregations been gathered than those which crowded the places of worship, especially on each of the Sabbaths in the month of February. "Few families," observed one of the members of the Mission, "were to be found, from the immediate connexions of the sovereign to that of the humblest slave, who could not number among their near relatives some who were the disciples of the Saviour. Many, there was reason to believe, were truly converted, others were desirous of knowing the way of salvation, while numbers were merely seeking general knowledge, or influenced in their attendance on the means of religious instruction by inferior motives."

Such was the interesting state of the native Christians in Madagascar when their enemies discovered that they had gone far towards the accomplishment of their designs. They had succeeded in exciting the displeasure of the queen against the doctrines and truths of Christianity, as well as against those by whom these were professed, and by investing their ground of complaint with a religious and personal character, as effecting the supremacy of the sovereign, and the stability of the government, had successfully appealed to her strong and long-cherished prejudices, her pride, and that impatience of the least resistance to her will, which is possessed alike by all despots, savage or civilized.

Besides the events which had occurred at the capital, reports were almost daily brought to the palace, of the increasing numbers, who, notwithstanding all the restrictions hitherto imposed, were attaching themselves to the Christians, of the extension of the knowledge of reading

and writing, the prevailing neglect of the idols, and other objects formerly regarded with religious veneration.

In this state of affairs, a chief of rank and influence presented himself at the palace, requesting to see the queen; and on her majesty's appearing, he is reported to have addressed her to the following effect, "I am come to ask your majesty for a spear, a bright and sharp spear—grant my request." On its being inquired why he wanted a spear, he answered, that he had seen the dishonour done by the influence of the foreigners to the idols, the sacred guardians of the land, to the memory of her majesty's illustrious ancestors, whereby the nation would be deprived of their protection, to which alone they owed their safety; that the hearts of the people were already turned from the customs of their ancestors, and from her majesty, their successor, that by their instructions, their brotherhood,* and their books, the foreigners had already secured to their interest many of rank and wealth in the army, and the offices of government, many among the farmers and peasantry, and vast numbers of the slaves. That all this was only preparatory to the arrival of forces from their country, which, as soon as the Missionaries should send word that all was ready, would come over, and take possession of the kingdom. This, it was added, would be easy, as the people would be already alienated from their own government, and prepossessed in favour of the foreigners. The chief is said to have added, "Such will be the issue of the teaching by the foreigners; and I do not wish to live to see that calamity come upon our country, to see our own slaves employed against us; therefore I ask a spear, to pierce my

* Alluding to the Christian fellowship, which the natives considered as similar in some respects to the custom of forming brotherhoods described in a former part of this work.

heart, that I may die before that evil day comes." On hearing these reports, it is stated that the queen was so strongly excited with grief and rage, that she wept repeatedly, and remained silent for a cooking of rice (about half an hour,) and then declared that she would put an end to Christianity, if it cost the life of every Christian in the island. The most profound silence reigned in the palace, and throughout the court; the music was ordered to cease, all amusements, dancing, &c. in the court-yard discontinued for about a fortnight, the whole court appeared as if overtaken by some great national calamity, while consternation and alarm was visible among all classes of society. During the fortnight above referred to, edicts were issued and measures taken, to destroy, as far as human power could destroy it, the existence of Christianity in the country.

The first communication was made to the Missionaries and other foreigners, on Thursday, the 26th of February, 1835. As they were about to proceed to worship with the congregations already assembled, they were summoned to receive a message from the sovereign. On reaching the place appointed, the communication from the queen, which at once terminated all their labours, was read, and delivered by the chief officers in a manner that left them no reason to expect any relaxation of its injunctions. The following is a copy of the edict issued on this occasion.

"Antananarivo, 26th Feb. 1835.

"To all the Europeans, English and French:

"I inform you, my friends and relations, with regard to the disposition that you have manifested towards my country, in teaching the good disposition, and knowledge, I thank you for that; it is highly acceptable to me, for I have observed the disposition manifested by you to Radama, and also to me, that you have not changed.

"And I also inform all you Europeans, that whilst you reside here in my country, you may, among yourselves, observe all the customs, (religious observances,) of your ancestors, and your own customs; and do not entertain any fears, for I do not change the customs of your ancestors, or your customs, for the disposition that you have manifested to my country is good: however, though I state that, if the law of my country be violated, the party is guilty, whoever he may be; nor is that done in this country only, but throughout the world—wherever the law of the country is violated, the party is guilty.

"And further, I tell you explicity, that if these people of mine should change the customs of the ancestors, and that which has been transmitted from the ancient line of my predecessors, and from Andrianampoinimérina and Radama, if they should change that, I utterly detest it, (laviko izany,) for that which has been established by my ancestors I cannot permit to be changed: I am neither ashamed nor afraid to maintain the customs of my ancestors; but if there be good disposition, and knowledge that may be beneficial to my country, *that* I assent to, (atao ko izany;) but still, the customs of my ancestors, I cannot allow to be relinquished.

"And hence then, with regard to religious worship, whether on the Sunday or not, and the practice of baptism, and the existence of a society, (or societies;) those things cannot be done by my subjects, in my country; but with regard to yourselves as Europeans, do that which accords with the customs of your ancestors, and your own customs. But if there be knowledge of the arts and sciences, that will be beneficial to my subjects in the country, teach that, for it is good; therefore I tell you of this, my friends and relations, that you may hear of it.

(Saith) "RANAVALOMANJAKA."

To this communication the following reply was sent, two days afterwards, by the Missionaries.

Antananarivo, 28th Feb. 1835.

TO RANAVALOMANJAKA,

"May you attain to old age, not suffering affliction: Madam, may you equal in length of days the human race.

"We have received your letter brought to us by the officers of the palace, and we are happy to find that the disposition we have manifested in your country, and in teaching good disposition and wisdom, has been acceptable to you.

"Nevertheless, we are exceedingly grieved respecting your word, which says, Religious worship is not to be performed by your subjects. For we know and are assured, that the Word of God is beneficial to men, and the means of making them wise, whoever they may be, and that it renders illustrious and prosperous those kingdoms which obey it. And this teaching of ours, the Word of God, together with teaching the good disposition, and the arts and sciences, are the purposes for which we left our native country.

"We, therefore, must humbly and earnestly entreat of your majesty not to suppress our teaching the Word of God, but that we may still have the means of teaching it together with the useful arts and sciences.

"And with regard to your word, saying we are not allowed to purchase land;* we have heard the message, and submit to it; and we will not purchase land—for you, Madam, are the sovereign of the country.

"May you attain to a happy old age; and we pray to God to bless you: may you long live, and may your kingdom prosper, say we Europeans.

(Signed) "JOHNS, FREEMAN.
CHICK, CAMERON.
KITCHING, BAKER."

To this letter of the Missionaries an answer was sent by two chief officers of her majesty, repeating the substance of the former message, and stating that no change in the customs of their ancestors could be allowed to any natives of the country.

Orders had been issued for a general assembly of the people at the capital. All residing within sixty or seventy miles were required to attend; and, on Sabbath-day, the

* This simply refers to a notice addressed to all Europeans on that subject. It is merely a repetition of an old law to the same effect.

1st of March, a vast assembly, including all ranks, civil and military, old and young, were gathered at Ampahamasina. It is estimated by some members of the Mission, that scarcely fewer than 150,000 persons were present on the occasion.

Indefinite reports of the nature of the communication to be made to the people, were in general circulation, and great consternation prevailed among the inhabitants of the capital, and the strangers from a distance. The morning of the day on which the people were to assemble, was ushered in by the firing of cannon, for the purpose of exciting fear in the minds of the people, and impressing them with a sense of the importance attached by the government to the transactions of the day.

When the people assembled, about 15,000 troops under arms were marched to the place, with a view of showing the ability and determination of the government to enforce its wishes. At the appointed time the chief military officers and the judges appeared, and delivered the queen's edict, which was announced by the judges, and enforced by the military officers.

The following is a copy of the edict delivered to the people:

"I announce to you, O ye Ambaniandro, I am not a sovereign that deceives, nor are the servants deceived. I, therefore, announce to you what I purpose to do, and how I shall govern you. Who then is that man, a servant too, that would change the customs of our ancestors, and the twelve sovereigns in this country? To whom has the kingdom been left by inheritance, by Impoinimerina and Radama, except to me? If then any would change the customs of our ancestors, and of the twelve sovereigns, I abhor that, saith Rabodo-nandrian-impoinimerina.

"Now, on the subject of reviling the idols, treating the divination as a trifle, and throwing down the tombs of the Vazimba; I abhor that, saith Ranavalomanjaka. Do it not in my country. The idols

(say you) are nothing. By them it is that the twelve kings have been established; and now are they changed, to become 'nothing?' The divination also you treat in the same manner; and the tombs of the Vazimba, indeed, are their evidence. Even the sovereign counts them sacred; and are the *people* to esteem them as 'nothing?' This is my affair, saith Ranavalomanjaka, and I hold him *guilty*, whoever in my country destroys them, (the tombs.)

"As to baptism, societies, places of worship, distinct from the schools, and the observances of the Sabbath, how many rulers are there in this land? Is it not I alone that rule? These things are not to be done, they are unlawful in my country, saith Ranavalomanjaka; for they are not the customs of our ancestors, and I do not change their customs, excepting as to things alone which improve my country.

"Now then, those who have observed baptism, entered into society, and formed separate houses for prayer (or worship,) I grant you one month, saith Ranavalomanjaka to confess, (to make self-accusation,) and if you come not within that period, but wait to be first found out, accused by others, I denounce death against such, for I am not a sovereign that deceives, and servants are not to be deceived. Mark then the time, it is one month from yonder sun of this Sabbath, that I gave you to confess, and this is the method you are to adopt: The scholars at Ambodinandohalo, and those at Ambatonakanga, and not those only, for there are scholars in all these twelve principal towns, and the scholars that have not open separate houses, but at the appointed schools alone have worshipped and learned,—these are not condemned, and those are not to confess; but those who have opened other houses—these are to accuse themselves.

"And those who have been baptized, whether they have worshipped in other houses or not, these must also accuse themselves, and those also who have entered into society.

"And you, the bourgeois and soldiers, that have been attending the schools for worship, and especially such as have opened other houses for worship, and been baptized, and entered into society, and kept the Sabbath. Come, and accuse yourselves on these accounts, for I, the sovereign, do not deceive, but if any come first, and accuse you, I denounce death against you, and I do not deceive, saith Ranavalomanjaka.

"And I moreover announce this to you, saith Ranavalomanjaka, Here are your slaves, that you have been teaching to write, and who have gone to the separate houses of prayer, and others who have gone to the schools also, and especially that have been baptized; all these must also come and accuse themselves.

"I announce to you, scholars, my command: so long as you are scholars, and remain under the instruction of the Europeans in their houses, observe the Sabbath; nevertheless, it is as to writing only, in which you are to observe it, but not in anything else whatever: and further, from the moment that you go out of their houses, even on the Sabbath, you are not to use or observe it, for I, the sovereign, do not observe it at all; and it shall not be done in my country, saith Ranavalomanjaka.

"And again, as to your mode of swearing, the answer you are giving is, 'True,' and when you are asked, 'Do you swear it?' you reply, 'True.'

"I wonder at this! What, indeed, is that word 'True?'

"And then, in your worship, yours is not the custom of our ancestors; you change that, and you are saying, 'Believe,' 'Follow the customs;' and again you say, 'Submit to him,' 'Fear.'

"Remember, it is not about that which is sacred in heaven and earth, that which is held sacred by the twelve sovereigns, and all the sacred idols, that you are now accused; but it is that you are doing what is not the custom of our ancestors;* that I abhor, saith Ranavalomanjaka."

As soon as the impression produced by the message had partially subsided, some of the chiefs, and especially one military officer, not himself personally favourable to Christianity, but influenced by a sense of justice and a feeling of honour, remonstrated against the censure conveyed in the

* Meaning by this, "It is not respecting mere unimportant circumstances in established usages, that I accuse you, but of the grave offence that these changes are radical, and overthrow the very character of our national religion altogether."—It was not a change from one idol to another, but from idolatry altogether, to the service of Jehovah.

message. Acknowledging that these things had been done, many of them with the express sanction and encouragement of Radama, which had been confirmed publicly by the queen, he added, that the people had not thus acted from any unfriendly intention towards the queen or the government. Some of the chiefs therefore proposed to present an acknowledgment and a peace-offering to the queen, on condition that the operation of the edict was not retrospective, and that no self-accusation should be required. The judges agreed to convey the proposal of the chiefs to the queen, and the people were dismissed till the following day, to await her decision.

The firing of cannon the next morning announced to the multitudes in the capital, that a message would be delivered from the sovereign; and in the afternoon the judges and military officers, supported by a large number of troops, repaired to the place of meeting. After a short pause, the officers announced to the multitudes convened, that the queen refused their general acknowledgment and peace-offering, insisted that every one who had engaged in any of the forbidden acts should confess the same, allowing one week only, instead of a month, for this purpose, and threatening with death any who might afterwards be found guilty, but had not accused themselves.

All further expostulation was forbidden, and the people had no alternative but compliance or death. The powers of darkness were permitted to triumph. The native Christians acknowledged having learnt to read—engaged or united in prayer—observed the Sabbath, &c.: they now abstained from these observances, and numbers of them gave up, to the officers appointed to receive them, in obedience to most positive orders on the subject, the copies of the sacred Scriptures, and other books in their possession; many evi-

dently giving them up with extreme reluctance and sorrow. They were required to state explicitly the extent to which they had followed the instructions of the Missionaries, and were fined or degraded in rank accordingly.

The case of the young men, several hundreds in number, who had been under the care of Mr. Cameron for the purpose of learning useful arts, will illustrate the general operation of this iniquitous edict. These young men went in a body, the morning after the last meeting, and confessed that they had attended public worship, and learned to read the Scriptures. They were requested to write their names, in different classes, according to what they had done; the first class was to include those who had been baptized, the second those who had attended prayer-meetings, or abstained from labour from religious motives on the Sabbath. The first class comprised sixteen. Four of these added, that, though they had been baptized, they had not followed the instructions of the Missionaries, but had committed sins tolerated by the usages of the country, and they pleaded this in extenuation of their being liable to displeasure for having been baptized; the other twelve added, that they had not only been baptized, but had ever since most scrupulously endeavoured to act as became Christians. They were all deeply affected, and it is said that some of them had resolved, if required to engage in any idolatrous worship, rather to suffer death than comply.

After these young men and others had spent several days in classifying and giving their names, those who held any honours or rank in the service of the sovereign were publicly degraded, and reduced nearly two-thirds in their rank and income. Among the people, those who did not hold offices under government were fined according to the extent to which they had attended to the duties of Christianity. It

is supposed that upwards of four hundred officers were degraded on this occasion.

In reference to the holding of prayer-meetings in their houses, the Missionaries deemed it proper to write to the queen, informing her, that whatever blame this might incur, ought to be attached to them, as they had recommended and encouraged the people to meet for prayer, in their own dwellings. They also wrote to say, that their own servants, and all other natives residing with them, as transcribers or assistants, had read the Scriptures, observed the Sabbath, and attended public worship at their request, and in consequence of their recommendation; and that they were willing to bear any blame that the queen might attach to their having done this. They stated at the same time that they had recommended it on the permission formerly given by the queen, and did not know that there was any law against it. The letters of the Missionaries were respectfully acknowledged; they were told that no blame attached to them, but their servants and assistants shared in common with others the penalties inflicted on the Christians. The accused were offered the trial by poison, if they wished to prove their innocence; but knowing the treachery so frequently employed in preparing it, no one risked his life by taking it.

For some time the distress among the people was so great, that instead of crowding the houses of the Missionaries as they had been accustomed to do, scarcely a native came near their dwellings for days together, and no one dared to repair to the places of public worship. The children in the schools established by order of the government, were required to attend; but the Missionaries were only allowed to teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic, without the least allusion to Christianity. The children were not to

be required to learn writing on the Sabbath-day; this was the only way in which it was distinguished· and this was out of deference to the customs of the Europeans, who were thus relieved from what they regarded as a secular duty.

On that day the Europeans might meet for public worship, but God was not to be worshipped by any native, and the name of Jesus was not to be invoked, excepting in connexion with the national idols, the sun, moon, &c. Transgression of this law was to be punished by the death of the offenders, the confiscation of property, and, if married, the slavery of their wives and children. The names of Jehovah and Jesus Christ at first were only prohibited, but afterwards the devil was added, and his name not allowed to be mentioned.

The malignant spirit of the enemies of the Bible, and at the same time the comparative impotency of their rage, was manifested in the extent to which they foolishly attempted to enforce their hostility to the doctrines of the gospel. They not only required the natives to cease from reading the Scriptures, attending public instruction, or engaging in prayer, but prohibited their even *thinking* of any of the instructions they had received, and required that they should obliterate from their recollection all the religious knowledge they had ever received. It is needless to add, that though numbers appeared willing to act upon the prohibition of the queen, others would have preferred death to a denial of their faith, or a renunciation of their hopes of mercy through Jesus Christ. Obvious reasons prevent any detail, at present, of the number, character, and proceedings of those who, under the severe affliction that now overtook them, and the darkness that veiled the future, remained, as in the days of Elisha, unpolluted by the abominations of the land, and faithful to that

God, whose spiritual presence and divine support, there is reason to believe, was richly experienced by many.

The members of the Mission, though distressed, were not in despair, and, though cast down, were not destroyed. They were enabled still to hope in God. Though deprived of every means of usefulness among the people, and assured that, at least till the rage of their enemies should be somewhat allayed, any deviation from the requirements of the queen would be perilous to themselves, and certainly fatal to the natives, who would be gladly seized and sacrificed to the deep-rooted enmity of the idolaters, if this could be done with any show of justice. "We owe it," they remark in a letter dated March 10th, 1835, "to the merciful care of our heavenly Father, that no violence has yet been used towards us; but we are cautioned, and warned, in the most authoritative manner, by the government, to be on our guard, as the least violation of the law of the country would be visited with the most unsparing vengeance."

"How soothing," another observes, "is the refuge of Jehovah's immutable promises in such a day as this! How consoling to reflect, that from the very nature of divine truth and the extreme folly of idolatry, no earthly power can reinstate, in the once converted Christian's affections, a senseless block, for the spiritual presence of the eternal God."

Though the disrespect shown to the idols by the individual who was sentenced to the tangena, the charges of the officer against the Christians, and the report of their increase, were, in all probability, the chief causes of the grief and rage under which the queen sought by present measures to extinguish the light of truth in the country,—by her advisers, they were only seized as favourable occasions for accomplishing purposes deliberately resolved upon. Among

the causes which induced several of the heathen officers of the government to seek the overthrow of Christianity in the country, the following may be specified.

1. The deep and inveterate depravity of the heart, and the enmity of the unrenewed mind against the *moral purity* inculcated in the Bible, and the uncompromising requirements of the living God to the homage of heart and the obedience of the life.

2. The determination was a measure of policy on the part of some, and superstitious infatuation on the part of others, to uphold the idols, superstitions, and heathen customs of the country. Between these and Christianity they perceived the impossibility of any amalgamation; the latter they found admitted of no equal, and would be satisfied with nothing short of supremacy; its extinction was therefore deemed necessary, even to the continuance of that which they were determined should be paramount.

3. The recognition, on the part of the Christian natives, of any authority over either body or mind, above the queen, whom the people generally regarded as God—whom they addressed, if they did not worship as God.* The acknowledgment of any power superior to this, is regarded by the idolaters as most dangerous, and on no account to be tolerated. Hence the Lord Jesus Christ is ever a rock of offence to them. His name is peculiarly obnoxious to the heathen in power. They often say, he is some renowned

* In illustration of this, it may be mentioned, that soon after the edict of the queen, one of the workmen came to Mr. Cameron, and asked, if they, the Europeans, could eat their food, from consternation and fear. On being answered, that however much they regretted the course the queen had pursued, they were only conscious of having done good, and consequently did not fear; the man observed, "Perhaps you are not aware that we can do nothing of which the queen does not approve—we know of no higher power;—and therefore, when she is displeased, we are people soon dead."

ancestor of the Europeans, to whom they wish to transfer the allegiance of the people.

4. The conviction, on the part of the members of the government, that the present system of despotism could only be exercised over an uninstructed and servile people, that freedom of thought and speech would be followed by freedom of action, and the system by which irresponsible power was preserved in the hands of the rulers, weakened if not destroyed. The government was fully sensible of the advantages of knowledge, and hence both Radama and his successor had encouraged teaching and the useful arts—but it was not for the people. Their steady aim was to monopolize all these advantages, and to use them as means of keeping the nation at large in a state of more entire subjection.

5. The expectation of receiving instruction in the manufacture of muskets and other arts, from some natives of France, who engaged to teach all that the English had taught, without associating with it any religious instruction; and perhaps a fear of the interference of the British government, of whose encroachments in India, Ceylon, and South Africa they received very highly-coloured accounts. The government had always manifested extreme jealousy of foreigners residing in the island, and a fear of all foreign intercourse with the country.

6. The order, propriety of conduct, integrity, and chastity of the native Christians, especially the chastity of the native Christian females, rendered them obnoxious to the displeasure of the heathen. It was customary for any officer of high rank or station, in the army or the palace, to employ the influence with which his office invested him, for the violation of the sacred obligations of conjugal life among the people. This, the Christians invariably resisted, and thereby greatly exasperated some high in rank and power.

To these, it is supposed, the love of plunder may be added, as the confiscation of the property of those who professed Christianity was probably expected, and, had it taken place, would, according to the usual practice in relation to criminals, have been largely shared by those who were first to inform against them.

So far as their presence, example, prayers, and sympathy could be rendered available for the comfort of the native Christians, the Missionaries were happy to encourage them; but beyond this, at the period under review, none dared to seek their counsel or aid.

CHAP. XVIII.

Active labours of the Missionaries—Printing in the native language—The printing of the Malagasy Bible completed—Departure of Messrs. Freeman, Cameron, and Chick, with their families, from the island—Departure of Mr. Griffiths' family for England—The natives who had resided with the Missionaries accused of disaffection to the government, death of two by the tangena—Rafaravavy accused to the government of possessing and reading the Scriptures—Departure of Messrs. Johns and Baker from Madagascar—Letters from the native Christians to the Missionaries—The practice of infanticide revived—Grievous oppression of the people by the government—Desperation of the natives—Increase of banditti and robbers—Unsuccessful attempts of the Hovas to subdue the natives in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine's Bay—Horrible barbarities practised by the Hovas on the natives of the South—Unprecedent number of public executions—Arrival of an embassy from Madagascar in London—Their intercourse with the king and British government—Honourable message of the queen of England to the queen of Madagascar—Revolt of the Sakalavas under Andriansolo—Defeat of the Hovas—Visit of Mr. Johns to Tamatave—Spiritual prosperity of the native Christians—Persecution by the government—Martyrdom of Rafaravavy—Present state of the country.

Deprived of every means of usefulness among the people, the Missionaries directed all their energies to the completion of the Holy Scriptures. No native was allowed to assist them at the press; but they cheerfully undertook the labour of printing the remaining portions themselves. The Missionaries having completed the revision, Mr. Baker undertook the composition; and Mr. Kitching, who, during Mr. Baker's absence in England, had been engaged by the Missionaries in the printing department, worked off the sheets at the press; and by the strenuous efforts of the brethren, and

the favour of God, they had the grateful satisfaction of accomplishing an object on which their hearts had long been set, viz. the completing the printing of the entire volume of Divine Revelation in the native language.

Messrs. Freeman and Johns, aided by several native youths, who were appointed by the government to assist them, had also been engaged in preparing dictionaries in the Malagasy and English languages; and, at the same time that the printing of the Scriptures was finished, they were enabled to complete the first part of this important work, viz. English and Malagasy, prepared by Mr. Freeman: some useful books that were in hand when the operations of the Missionaries had been stopped by the government, were also finished; and the Missionaries cherished the hope that the means of putting them into circulation would at no distant period be found. Mr. Kitching now departed for the coast, and has subsequently proceeded to South Africa, and established himself in business at Port Elizabeth.

The government were still willing to engage the Missionary artisans, to promote the casting of iron, and other arts; but as it was stipulated that these should be taught without the least connexion with Christianity, or any religious instruction, Messrs. Cameron and Chick declined remaining any longer in the country. Mr. Freeman, acting in accordance with the wishes and advice of his brethren, found it inexpedient to prolong his stay in Madagascar, under the existing state of the Mission; and, after a fruitless application to her majesty's government, to be allowed to continue, to some extent, the communication of religious instruction to the natives, he prepared for his departure. This measure of removal approved itself to the members of the Mission, both on the ground of the total

inutility of remaining, and the entire failure of Mrs. Freeman's health ever since her return from England to Madagascar.

On the 18th of June, 1835, Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. Cameron, Mr. and Mrs. Chick, left the capital, and reached the coast in safety, where they embarked for Mauritius; Messrs. Cameron and Chick proceeding to the Cape of Good Hope, whither they were followed by Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, who subsequently proceeded to England. Mesrs. Cameron and Chick still remain in South Africa, following their respective callings; the former at Cape Town, the latter at Betheldorp, one of the Missionary stations.

Messrs. Johns and Baker accompanied their friends for a short way towards Tamatave, and then returned with sorrowing hearts to the capital, determining, in dependence on the protecting care of their heavenly Father, to remain as long as possible with the afflicted and persecuted Christians. Mr. Baker laboured with great assiduity at the press, and in the course of the summer finished the second part of the Dictionary, viz. the Malagasy and the English. Mr. Johns was employed in superintending the schools, and preparing other useful works in the language; Mr. and Mrs. Griffiths and family left the island on the 27th of August, and proceeded to England, leaving only Messrs. Johns and Baker, who expected soon to be under the necessity of following them.

The expressions of good-will towards the Missionaries on their departure, and the facilities afforded by the government for their journey to the coast, arose from no change of feeling favourable to the Christians. The bitter enmity of their heathen rulers was shown, in the avidity with which they seized every occasion affording the slightest

pretext for the gratification of their vindictive feelings. Their conduct, on several occasions, exhibited the meanness of spirit so frequently associated with the capricious and sanguinary exercise of irresponsible power.

The natives had been encouraged to assist the Missionaries by Radama and his successor, as domestic servants in their families, nursing their children, and otherwise contributing to their comfort. Their conduct in this respect had been regarded with approbation rather than blame, by the authorities. But no sooner had the Missionaries left the island, than it was reported, that to have lived in the houses of the Missionaries, or to have been intimate with them, was sufficient to render the allegiance and trustworthiness of any individual doubtful. The Missionaries had officially informed the queen that their servants had read the Scriptures, observed the Sabbath, and attended to all other Christian observances; that they held themselves responsible for the attention their servants had paid to the observances of Christianity, and would bear any consequences to which it might lead. They had been told in reply, that no blame attached to them for so doing; but after their departure, the comparatively humble and subordinate station of those who had acted as servants to the Missionaries, afforded no protection for the relentless hatred of the rulers, who, though they deemed it inexpedient to punish the Missionary, did not think it beneath them to visit with sanguinary vengeance the helpless natives left within their grasp. Shortly after the departure of Mr. Freeman and Mr. Griffiths, and the artisans, their servants were all required to submit to the ordeal of the tangena, to prove their fidelity to the queen. On this occasion, two who had lived in Mr. Freeman's family, being declared

guilty, were barbarously murdered, the rest escaped with no other injury than that which usually follows the poison, even where it does not prove fatal.

Messrs. Baker and Johns continued their labours at the press. Mr. Johns was also employed in instructing more fully the twelve senior teachers, under whose care the schools established by the government were placed. Besides this, Mr. Johns commenced a translation of the "Pilgrim's Progress," but was not allowed to hold any intercourse with the native Christians, or even to speak with any of the people on the subject of religion. He was, however, happy to soothe, by his sympathy and presence, as far as practicable, the faithful disciples of Christ in the capital, and to cheer and encourage those who found means of intercourse with him. A number, there is reason to believe, were able, even though threatened with death if detected, to secure after the hour of midnight, the privilege and comfort of reading a portion of the Holy Scriptures, which some, in order to preserve, had buried in the earthen floors of their houses, beneath the mats on which they slept.

The determination of the heathen rulers to suppress the profession of Christianity, though it induced many, who had once declared themselves Christians, to renounce such profession, and to return to many of the superstitions and abominations of heathenism, did not deter the little band, that remained faithful amidst accumulated trials, from using every means for promoting their own comfort and edification, and inducing others to receive the truth. These efforts were not unattended by the Divine blessing, though the vigilance of their enemies, and the encouragement given to all who united in opposing Christianity, often brought them into circumstances of imminent peril.

Among others, a distinguished Christian female, Rafaravavy, was in great danger of losing her life. An accusation was laid against her before the government by some of her slaves, of her having observed the Sabbath, retained and read a copy of the Scriptures, and conversed with some of her companions on religious subjects. These were the crimes laid to her charge. She denied not, but confessed the truth of the accusation; and neither the grey hairs of a parent, a zealous idolater, could persuade, nor the frowning threats of the sovereign could terrify her into an abandonment of her profession. In daily prospect of death, she then remarked to a beloved friend, to whom she was accustomed, amidst mutual tears, to pour out the feelings of her heart, that as to her life, she felt indifferent; that, if her blood were to be shed on the land, she trusted it might be the means of kindling such a feeling of interest in Madagascar as should never be extinguished. "Did not the Saviour forewarn us," said she, "that we should incur the hatred of all men for his sake? The Son of God has died in our stead, and that will shortly redeem us from all our sufferings. I know in whom I have believed; and though my blood be shed,* the word of God must prosper in this country." She added, with great feeling, "Pray for me, that if it be the Lord's will I should suffer now, that he would take my soul to himself; but that, if I am spared, I may live more than ever to his glory." Nothing grieved her, she remarked, so much as the spiritual state of those around her; and the immediate prospect of martyrdom itself appeared less painful to her than seeing all her connexions living in wickedness.

* In speaking of her death, she employed a term which also contained allusion to the fact of her body being left at the place of execution, according to the barbarous usage of the country, to be devoured by the dogs that swarm in the neighbourhood.

The queen did not, at that time, think fit to inflict on her the punishment of death. She was condemned to be "very ilany," that is, a pecuniary fine was imposed, equivalent to half the amount of her estimated value, if sold into slavery, and she was severely threatened, and warned, that "though her life was spared, she should be taught a lesson not to trifle with the edict of the queen." Scarcely could a more striking example of Christian forgiveness and meekness be found in all the records of the Church, than she displayed on this trying occasion. While many of the members of her family, indignant with her accusers, as slaves, who ill requited former kindness, threatened punishment, she assured them, on her liberation, that she cherished no resentment, but freely and fully forgave them. She sought Divine mercy on their behalf, earnestly admonished them, affectionately prayed with them, sought to lead them to repentance, and endeavoured to direct them to the Saviour Her exemplary Christian spirit towards her accusers, besides forming a further proof of the reality and the elevation of her piety, has been followed by satisfactory evidence that her holy labours were not in vain.

Shortly after this event, Messrs. Johns and Baker received indirect intimation that it was the wish of the government that they should leave the island. All means of usefulness to the people were for the present at an end; and the lives of the native Christians, who were known to have any intercourse with them, were constantly placed in jeopardy by the treachery and hostility of their enemies. Unable to discover any favourable change in the views of the government, uncheered by any prospect of resuming their labours, and finding that their presence increased the troubles of the native Christians, without securing any equal advantage, the remaining brethren, after much prayer, and frequent

deliberation with the native Christians, felt it their duty to retire to Mauritius, at least for a season.

Influenced by these considerations, Messrs. Johns and Baker, with feelings of poignant anguish, left the capital in the month of July, 1836.

Their sorrows were deeply shared by the native Christians, though both parties deemed it best that they should remove. The Mission families, who were accompanied part of the way by some of the native Christians, pursued their mournful journey towards the coast, where they embarked for Mauritius, cheered by the assurance that ultimately the Gospel would have free course in Madagascar, and consoled by the hope that in the wise arrangements of Divine mercy, the way might be speedily opened for their return to the loved field of labour, from which the malevolence of ignorance and superstition had obliged them to retire. The feelings of the native Christians who remained, may be inferred from the letters they sent to their teachers.

Madagascar, July, 1836.

To Mr. Johns, Mr. Canham, Mr. Camerou, Mr. Chick, and Mr. Kitching:—

"Health and happiness to you, your wives, and your children, say the few sheep here in Madagascar. We salute you all. We could not write to you separately, being restrained from doing so; therefore do not censure us, beloved friends! We now conduct Mr. Johns, who is on his way home, according to the law of the land. We are now stared at, and opposed by the people, whose eyes are upon us. With great difficulty we obtained permission to conduct Mr. Johns, when he left us: but, notwithstanding we are thus afflicted with sorrow, do not be afraid, for we love and obey the law of Christ. When the apostle Paul preached to the disciples, and exhorted them and encouraged them to continue in the faith, he told them that through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom of God. We are even like this ourselves, for

without much tribulation we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven; and truly we know that if we shrink at tribulation or persecution, we are not worthy to bear the name of Christ. But we know in whom we have believed, and in whom we have trusted; and that he is able to keep also that which we have entrusted to him. And this we say is now our confidence. Dan. viii. 7. 'And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.' Jer. iii. 19. 'But I said, how shall I put thee among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations? And I said, Thou shalt call me, my father; and shalt not turn away from me.' Rom. iii. 24. 'Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' Read also Ezek. xxviii. first and last, 'The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, And they shall dwell safely therein, and shall build houses, and plant vineyards; yea, they shall dwell with confidence, and they shall know that I am the Lord their God.' Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace. But the salvation of the righteous is of the Lord: he is their strength in the time of trouble. And the Lord shall help them, and deliver them: and save them, because they trust in him.' Psalm xci. 9, &c. 'Because thou hast made the Lord which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling. For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet. Because he hath set his love upon me, and I will answer him: I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honour him. With long life will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation. The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon. Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing: to shew that the Lord is upright: He is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness

in him.' Prov. xiii. 24. 'He that spareth his rod, hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.' Prov. xix. 18. 'Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying.' Prov. xxiii. 13, 14. 'Withhold not correction from the child: for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell.' These words cause us confidence, although there is much in this world which cause us troubles.

"Thus we write to you, beloved friends! Do not forget to entreat a blessing for us; but pray to God that he may hasten his pity, and have mercy upon this dark land of Madagascar.

"Farewell to you, saith your Friend."

Ambatonakanga, July, 1836.

To my Friend Mr. Canham, and his Family:—

"We do not forget you, notwithstanding we are separated far from you. Your leaving was as it were the beginning of sorrows, which were to accumulate more and more; but, alas! what can we do? Health and happiness to you and your family, is the wish of myself, my wife, and my children; for we visit you thus by letter, as we are desirous of asking how you are.

"My father is dead, and my wife's father and my mother's brother also; this I think is comparatively easy to forget; but there is a certain leading thing which causes me too much grief. When I pass by Ambatonakanga, (where the chapel stands,) and when Saturday arrives, and business is to be done on the Sabbath, which cannot now be refused,—this, this is indeed heavy to bear! All the Missionaries are gone, for their work is ended! Oh, when shall we again behold a new day? Make haste the promise which says, 'The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waves cover the sea:'—that the broken heart which is too heavy may be bound up, and may the power of Jehovah quickly appear, that all may see it and be astonished thereat! Do not forget to pray for us, saith your friend R———"

"Salutation from the 'little flock.' By the blessing of God we are all well, and our state is one of increasing piety and augmenting numbers, and we are able to assemble often to praise and honour God, as described 2 Cor. vi. 7—10. 'By the word of truth, by

the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

"We are all well; those who are just added to us rejoice at the mercy of God. Those who had forgotten are able to return. We are impressed and delighted when we read the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' I have redeemed my mother from slavery, but her husband (my father in law) is yet a slave. I intend to redeem him, if possible, for I would rather myself remain awhile in slavery, than that he should, for his servitude is hard, and I remember the words of Paul, that 'we who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.' I exhort and instruct them often. With regard to my master, he still speaks angrily to me on account of my adherence to the word of God. But I see the words written by Paul, Rom. viii. 35—39. 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? (As it is written, 'For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.') Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that hath loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.' Thanks to God who has caused us to see words of life such as these."

On reaching Mauritius, the Missionaries were cordially welcomed by the Christian friends residing there, and commenced, as soon as practicable, their labours among the inhabitants, directing their attention more especially to the natives of Madagascar, numbers of whom they found in the island.

The vindictive persecution of the Christians was only one of the calamities which the erroneous and iniquitous

conduct of the government brought upon the Malagasy. The practice of infanticide was revived. Their efforts to extinguish the light of Christian truth were accompanied by great activity and zeal in reviving and promoting idolatry. Fresh idols were continually brought to the capital, new altars were erected in several places; altars, tombs, and other objects of superstitious veneration, that had been lying in ruins, were repaired; new ceremonies were appointed, and offerings more frequently presented. In all these attempts to restore the influence of idolatry, the queen seemed to take the lead, being at times occupied for several days together in the observance of idolatrous ceremonies, and inaccessible to any excepting those who were engaged in the service of the idols. Of this, few would, perhaps, have felt much disposition to complain, had it not been accompanied by increasing oppression from the government, and misery among the people.

The large increase made to the army, had robbed numerous families of their most valuable members, and increased the unjust exactions of the government, which required the people to furnish support for the army without any remuneration. The numbers who had been taught to work at the different trades introduced in to the country by Europeans, were all obliged to give their labour unrequited by the government; while the general taxation was augmented to such an extent as to reduce numbers to a state of extreme wretchedness, or force them to desperation.

Unable to meet the demands of the government upon their personal services and their property, and to provide the means of support, multitudes fled from the towns and villages to the forests, formed themselves into banditti, and sought a precarious subsistence by seizing the cattle that might graze in the adjacent country, or plundering the

travellers that passed near their places of retreat. These bands of robbers increased to such a fearful degree, that in the summer of 1835, a considerable military force was employed in suppressing them. Great numbers were with difficulty taken, and brought to the capital, where, in the second or third week in September, nearly two hundred were publicly executed, eighty-four were killed by the spear of the common executioner, seventeen were cruelly burnt alive, some were barbarously buried alive, and the rest having been declared guilty by the ordeal of the tangena, were accordingly killed on the spot.

By these sanguinary proceedings the government sought to strike the people with terror, and deter others from endeavouring to escape from their requirements, or elude their vengeance; but to their astonishment and rage, the number of robbers increased to an extent that rendered travelling in small companies, without a guard, unsafe in many parts of the country. On one occasion, several of the officers of the government had asked Mr. Johns how they could most effectually remedy the evil. He replied, with much propriety, by ceasing to oppress the people, allowing them to reap the fruits of their own industry, and to be taught to read the Bible. The answer, it is understood, was reported to the queen; to whom, as well as the officers to whom it was given, it was far from being welcome.

The measures of the government were as unsuccessful as they were iniquitous; the military sent to suppress the hostility to the domination of the Hovas, which became increasingly visible in every direction, were not more successful than the efforts of the civilians to maintain the tranquillity of their own districts. The army sent against the inhabitants of the country adjacent to St. Augustine's Bay, utterly failed in its object, and returned greatly reduced in

numbers by the fatigues, privations, and losses of the campaign, mortified and disgraced in the eyes of their countrymen, instead of bringing with them the rich booty they had expected.

It appears that at the time they reached the coast, there were not fewer than twenty-one English ships in St. Augustine's Bay, trading with the inhabitants of the country for supplies and other native produce. To these the people applied for aid and protection, which being readily afforded, the Hovas were obliged to return, leaving them the independent possessors of the country. The conduct of the masters of the British vessels on this occasion was highly displeasing to the queen, and had increased her desire that the remaining Missionaries should leave the country.

Shortly after this event, Prince Corroller died. He had been for some years governor of Tamatave, and had been generally sought, to encourage commercial intercourse with the English, and preserve the friendship of the British government. His death, which took place on the tenth of November, 1835, left those in the administration who were unfriendly to the English at greater liberty to carry into effect their own measures for expelling all foreigners from the country, and excluding all foreign influence from the government. With this view it is supposed the road from Tamatave to the capital was stopped, and a new one opened in a more northerly direction, by which the journey was rendered more tedious and difficult than ever.

Another expedition was sent against the inhabitants of the south, which perpetrated atrocities surpassing in treachery and blood all that had been known in the barbarous and sanguinary wars which had heretofore desolated Madagascar. The inhabitants of the invaded provinces had submitted to the army of the Hovas, and had agreed to

acknowledge the sovereignty of the queen. The negociations relating to the terms of their submission being completed, and, after being induced to give up their arms on the most solemn and repeated promises of the queen's friendship and protection, they assembled, men, women, and children, in the neighbourhood of the Hova army. The men were then required to remove to a short distance, under pretence of taking the oath of allegiance. As striking a pool of water, constitutes a part of the ceremony, a low swampy ground was chosen for the occasion. Such was the ostensible reasons of the choice. A darker reason was concealed in the bosoms of the chief leaders of the queen's troops. On the arrival of the natives at the appointed place, they were surrounded by the soldiers, and were then deliberately murdered! Not fewer than ten thousand men were thus basely assassinated on the spot!

The troops then selected, from the company of the wives and children of the murdered natives, all the boys capable of carrying arms. A given height had been fixed on by the queen as a standard, and all the youths above that measure, though they did not exceed it by half an inch, were conducted to the fatal spot where their fathers and brothers had perished, and there were also put to death. The wives and the rest of the children were then driven off as slaves, towards Imerina, the queen's people carrying with them as booty, whatever cattle and other property they could find.

In another part of the country, where the inhabitants were subdued, fifty of the most venerable men of the place, after having been kept prisoners in the ditches or trenches around their fortification for several days, were barbarously nailed and bound to crosses, fixed on the outside of one of their villages, where they were left to perish in the most

excruciating torture; their wives, refusing to become the slaves of the barbarians by whom their husbands had been destroyed, were speared on the spot—a fate scarcely more severe than that of those who were carried into bondage by the Hovas. Numbers of these unhappy captives perished from fatigue and suffering on the road towards the market to which their captors were conducting them. The horrible barbarities of the Hovas, and the cowardly slaughter of those whom they had treacherously induced to confide in promises, justly caused their name and character to be held in execration throughout the southern part of the island, and while it inflamed, throughout the remaining provinces, the passion for revenge, forced on the chiefs and people the just dread of extermination, unless able to resist their forces.

In these circumstances a number of the chiefs of the southern provinces sent, in the close of the year 1837, the most affecting and earnest application to the British government at Mauritius, denying all right of the Hovas to their country, and praying for assistance to save them from annihilation.

A similar course was pursued by the British traders at Tamatave and other parts, as the supplies of rice failed, in consequence of the inability or disinclination of the people to cultivate. No native was allowed to sell rice to any foreigner, and constant impediments were thrown in the way of traffic for bullocks or other productions of the country. The cup of misery in the hands of the inhabitants of this ill-fated country, now seemed to be full. The government had oppressed the people till oppression itself could inflict no more. Their wretchedness scarcely admitted of any addition. The personal service required by the government had been so increased, as not to allow time for cultivating enough to support their families, and even their

scanty supplies thus obtained were reduced by exactions in the form of taxes.

In the early part of 1837, great scarcity prevailed in many parts of the country, and multitudes, it was feared, died from want. The sufferings of the people induced no relaxation of the oppression and severity of the government. Between the departure of Messrs. Johns and Baker in July, 1836, and the month of March, 1837, nine hundred criminals, charged with various offences, were put to death, having been declared guilty by the tangena, fifty-six were burnt to death, and sixty killed by spearing and other means, making a fearful total of 1016 executions in the short space of eight months. That the country under these circumstances should prosper, was impossible; and it is not surprising that agriculture was neglected, and that multitudes driven by despair had recourse to violence and plunder; universal anarchy and complete desolation was only prevented by the military forces of the government.

In the year 1836, the queen determined on sending an embassy to England and France. It is probable that the reverses which the army had met with in the south, the favour shewn by the commanders of English vessels towards those whom her troops were endeavouring to subjugate, the uncertainty of the light in which the English government might regard the policy now pursued, and their conviction that the withdrawal of the friendship of the latter, and their countenance of any rival chieftain, would ensure his success in any attempt to wrest the government from her hands, led to the adoption of this measure.

They were also, it is supposed, influenced by a desire to obtain the sanction of the British government to the change of their policy, which was now so widely different from that which had formed the basis of the treaty of the English with

Radama, in which the residence of a British agent at the capital had been provided for, and the friendship and encouragement of the English nation had been secured.

The embassy, consisting of six officers, left Madagascar in the summer of 1836. The French ship, Mathilde, Captain Garnot, was chartered by the queen to take them from Tamatave to England and France, and back to Madagascar. The embassy arrived at Port Louis, in Mauritius, early in October. They were courteously received by his excellency Sir William Nicolay, the governor; and, after a short delay, proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, where respectful attentions were also paid them by the governor, Sir B. D'Urban.

Leaving the Cape, the embassy proceeded to Havre de Grace, whence they were conducted by Captain Garnot in a steam-packet to London. They reached our metropolis early in February, and took up their residence at Radley's hotel.

After an interview with the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, they were presented to his majesty at the levee held at St. James's on the first of March.

During their stay in London, they visited several of our national establishments, and some of our principal manufactories. They were accompanied by some of our brethren, the Missionaries from Madagascar, then in England. W. A. Hankey, Esq., procured them orders of admission to some of our establishments, and occasionally accompanied them. They visited the Bank, the Mint, the Tower, the London Docks, Woolwich Arsenal and Dockyard, the Thames Tunnel, St. Paul's, the Museum, the Monument, Gallery of Practical Science, Apollonicon, Colosseum, Zoological Gardens, London Gas-Works, the British and Foreign School, Borough Road, the National and the Infant

Schools, Baldwin's Gardens, &c. &c. They were also much gratified by an inspection of the paper manufactory of Messrs. Pewtress and Co., the iron-foundery of Messrs. Maudsley and Co., the pottery of Mr. Green, Lambeth, and the glass-works of Mr. Pellatt, Bankside. They felt themselves much indebted to the polite attention of the proprietors of those establishments.

On Monday, the 6th of March, they attended a meeting of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, at the Mission House, to which they had been invited. They were received with kindness and respect; and to the address delivered by W. A. Hankey, Esq., on behalf of the Directors, they made a brief and appropriate reply. The Rev. J. J. Freeman acted as interpreter on the occasion.

On Tuesday, the 7th of March, they had an audience of his majesty at Windsor. The Rev. Mr. Freeman accompanied them at his majesty's express desire, and had the honour of presenting the king with a copy of the holy Scriptures in the Malagasy language, which had been translated by the Missionaries, and printed at the Mission press in Madagascar. His majesty received the copy of the Bible in a manner that could not fail to impress the embassy with a deep sense of the high regard entertained by the British sovereign for this volume of divine revelation, and the satisfactory result of Missionary effort, its existence in the Malagasy language, afforded.

During the interview, his majesty graciously introduced the embassy to the queen, who addressed them with great courtesy and kindness. Afterwards, while passing through the apartments of the Castle, they had the honour of again meeting her majesty, who condescendingly entered into conversation with the embassy; and having learned that, although many had been instructed by the Missionaries, yet,

in consequence of an edict of the queen of Madagascar, no native could profess Christianity, her majesty, addressing herself to the members of the embassy, said, "Tell the queen of Madagascar from me, that she can do nothing so beneficial for her country as to receive the Christian religion."

On the 19th of March 1837, having had their final interview with his majesty's government, and received a written communication for their sovereign, the embassy sailed for Calais, on their way to Paris; after concluding the negotiations with the French government, they embarked for Madagascar, and arrived at Tamatave in the month of September following. Hence they proceeded to the capital.

It is reported that the embassy was not so successful with the British government as had been expected; strong disapprobation was said to have been expressed at the extreme barbarity shewn in the wanton and treacherous sacrifice of human life by the queen's forces; and the residence of a British agent, for the protection of British interests, was required as a preliminary to any engagement on the part of England with the existing government of Imerina.

This result could not be agreeable to the parties by whom the embassy had been sent, and the dissatisfaction it would produce was probably increased by the success with which Andriansolo, the chief of the northern Sakalavas, had resisted the attempts of the Hovas to reduce to submission that part of the island. Andriansolo, whose name has been mentioned more than once in the foregoing pages, is an extraordinary and intelligent man. Finding himself unable to resist the numerous and well-appointed forces which Radama in person, accompanied by Mr. Hastie, led against

him, he deemed it expedient to acknowledge, for the time, the supremacy of Radama; and though even then it was found almost impossible to make any very satisfactory arrangements with him, the conqueror trusted to the defenceless state to which he had reduced the people,* and to the garrisons he left in the country for its continued subjection to himself; these, he supposed, would prevent any future annoyance from its chief. In this he was mistaken, Andriansolo soon found means to make himself the actual, though Radama was the nominal sovereign of the country, and, on the death of that prince, was among the first to alarm his successor for the stability of her power. Andriansolo availed himself of an island near the coast, as a place of shelter when danger appeared; but often left it, and greatly annoyed the Hovas.

At one time, the Sakalavas approached within a few days journey of the capital; several incursions were also made by the Hovas into their country, but without any substantial advantage to the latter. The Hovas now determined on more decisive and extensive operations than they had attempted since the first invasion of the country by Radama; and with a view of effectually breaking the power, and suppressing the spirit of revolt among the northern Sakalavas, an army of 5000 men was, in the summer of 1837, sent against Andriansolo. This army was completely defeated, many of the officers and troops killed, and the remnant of the expedition returned in disgrace to the capital, without having accomplished their object. The government, notwithstanding, determined on making another attempt to cripple or destroy this resolute enemy, and

* Radama had obliged them to deliver to his officers all the fire-arms in their possession.

were, it was reported when the latest accounts of the island arrived, actively engaged in preparing to send another expedition against the formidable chieftain.

The embassy to Europe, which reached the capital about the time that the defeated forces arrived from the north, was followed by Captain Garnot, who had conveyed the embassy to and from Europe, and who, it is stated, was charged with proposals from the French government, for entering into commercial and other relations with the native government. These, it is reported, were refused by the queen, who closed her transactions with the French captain, by paying him in dollars the sum due for expenses incurred on behalf of the embassy, and declined any mercantile dealings with himself, or those whom he was deputed to represent at the capital. These proceedings, on the part of the queen, seem to indicate that the views of the government have not been directed exclusively to terminating the influence of the English in the island, but of all other Europeans; and that their object is, whatever ulterior views they may entertain in reference to the revival of the slave-trade, and other proceedings, to reject pertinaciously all foreign surveillance and control.

The Missionaries at Mauritius, though deprived of the privilege of labouring among the afflicted flock in Madagascar, cherished the tenderest solicitude for their welfare, and eagerly seized every opportunity of becoming acquainted with their circumstances. With this object in view, Mr. Johns proceeded to Tamatave in the month of July, 1837, and was favoured to meet there with friends from the capital. The tidings of the steadfastness of the Christians, of their joy in believing, of their holy consistency, and faithful and persevering efforts to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among their respective households, relatives, and

friends, and of the abundant measure of the Divine blessing evidently attending their exertions, filled his heart with the liveliest gratitude, and inspired him with the most animating hopes of the extension and stability of the cause of Christ in Madagascar.

Although, since the edict of the 1st of March, 1835, no meetings had been held for public worship, and many who had before associated themselves with the Christians had since appeared foremost amongst their enemies, and had indulged in all the vices of the heathen, a goodly number, holding fast their profession, continued in the faith and purity of the Gospel, shining as lights in the midst of a crooked and preverse generation.

These native Christians were accustomed to read the Scriptures at the hour of midnight in their own houses, or other places of concealment, and to meet in small companies for singing and prayer. They were also at the capital, and in some of the provinces, in the habit of meeting together on the Sabbath, either in retired places in the forest, in caverns among the rocks, or on the summit of a mountain, for the reading of the Scriptures, and social worship. There were several of these assemblies when the last of the Missionaries left the island.

After the departure of the Missionaries, the disciples continued to attend to these means of instruction and edification to themselves, and to seek the spiritual good of others. They were favoured with great spirituality of mind, and enjoyed frequent and delightful fellowship with God, living much under the evidence of things hoped for, and the conviction of things not seen; while the Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace which they disseminated, by inclining many, notwithstanding the offence of the Cross, and the peril of confessing the name of Jesus, to associate them-

selves with the believers. Their conduct furnishes the most conclusive evidence of the power of the Gospel on their hearts, inducing them to prefer rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.

It was highly gratifying to the devoted but sorrowing Missionary, to be made acquainted with the exemplary walk, the scriptural simplicity and abounding fruitfulness, of those in whose stedfastness and holiness he took so deep an interest. Their fellowship was of no common order, and the ties that united them were such as the Gospel alone could supply and maintain. Every individual who joined them, knew that, even by the expression of a desire to do so, he placed his life in the hands of those to whom he made his desires known; every Christian also knew that, by acknowledging to be such as the stranger proposed to join, he was exposing his life, should the party proposing to unite, not afterwards prove what he professed to be.

Under these circumstances, it will not be surprising that the Malagasy Christians, like the primitive believers whom the apostle Paul essayed to join himself unto at Jerusalem, were led to the exercise of extreme circumspection, in proposing themselves in the first instance, and afterwards in admitting others to their fellowship. They adopted among themselves, on these occasions, a pledge of fidelity similar to that used by the prophet and Jewish monarch, as recorded in the prophetic writings, and maintained inviolate their engagement, though at the cost, in one instance at least, of life itself.

The Missionary, though no longer allowed to scatter the seed of Divine truth in the soil, on the preparation of which so much toil had been bestowed, rejoiced with devout thank-

fulness unto the Lord, in the growth and fruitfulness of that which he and his fellow-labourers had planted and watered in happier times. The native Christians, though persecuted and afflicted, rejoiced in their portion, and found their afflictions productive of the peaceable fruits of righteousness. They had been less frequently annoyed by the government since the departure of the Missionaries, and were induced to suppose that, if their rulers were not more favourably disposed towards them, they were less inclined to severity in punishing their quiet and unobtrusive observance of their religious duties, as they presumed they must be acquainted with their adherence to the Christian faith. In this they soon found, by events of the most mournful and sanguinary character, that they were mistaken.

It appears that the movements of the Christians had been watched, though no infringement of the antichristian edict of the queen was discovered till the last Sabbath in July, or the first Sabbath in August, 1837. On this occasion, a number of Christians having assembled, for reading the Scriptures, singing and prayer, on a mountain a short distance from the capital, were discovered, and reported to the queen, the premises of the suspected parties were searched, for the purpose of finding ground for accusation against them, and a box of books, viz. copies of the Scriptures and other Christian publications, that had been given by the Missionaries, being found buried near the house of that eminent Christian woman, Rafaravavy, who had been previously accused of reading the Bible, she was apprehended and imprisoned; her house, her entire property, was given up to plunder, her person secured, and her hands and feet loaded with heavy iron rings. She was menaced in vain during a period of from eight to ten days, to induce her to impeach her companions. She

remained firm, and perfectly composed; and was put to death by spearing on the 14th of August, 1837. She had said repeatedly by letter to her friend, Mrs. Johns, "Do not fear on my account. I am ready to die for Jesus, if such be the will of God." She was most wonderfully supported to the last moment of her life. Her age at the time of her death was thirty-eight years. No feature in her christian character appears to have been more distinctly manifested than her steadfastness and fidelity even to the death. Many, even of the old people, remarked they had never seen any one so "stubborn" as Rafaravavy, for although the queen forbade her to pray, she did pray, even when in irons; and continued to preach Christ to the officers and to the crowd that followed her for nearly three-quarters of a mile, from the place of public condemnation to the place of common execution. Here she continued to pray and to exhort all around her to believe in Jesus Christ, even till the executioner's spear, thrust through her body, deprived her of the power of utterance.

In relation to her death, Mr. Baker justly remarks:— "Never in the annals of the Church did a Christian martyr suffer from motives more pure, simple, and unmixed with earthly alloy. She had never heard of any after-glory of martyrdom on earth. No external splendour had been cast around the subject in her mind, by reading any lives of martyrs. All was to her obloquy and contempt. Her own father and relatives, to the very last, accused her of *stubbornness*. The people generally regarded her as *stubborn*, and worthy of punishment even on that account. She had no earthly friends to support and cheer her. She was not poor in outward circumstances; and by recantation, and by humbling herself to beg pardon of the queen, she might very probably have saved her life. But her whole heart,

as her letters testify, was filled with the love of Jesus. She endured as seeing Him who is invisible. Her letters are composed principally of passages from the Gospels and Epistles, and these, doubtless, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, were the entire support of her mind in the last hour of trial. If 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church,' we may trust that Rafaravavy will not have died in vain. She died directly and exclusively in defence of the Gospel."

Allusion has been made to her letters. It may suffice at present to give the following extract from one of her communications to Mr. Johns, written shortly before her last imprisonment.—

"Blessed be God, who hath given us access by our Lord Jesus Christ. My earnest prayer to God is, that he would enable me to obey the words of Jesus to his disciples, Matt. xvi. 24. 'If any man desire to come after me, let him deny himself,' &c. Hence then, none of these things move me, nor count I my life dear to myself, that I may finish my course in the service I have received of the Lord Jesus. Do not you, Missionaries, grieve under an idea that your labour here has been in vain in the Lord; through the blessing of God, it succeeds. 'If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost; but it is the power of God to them that believe.' Here is my ground of confidence; the power of God cannot be effectually resisted. I will go in the strength of the Lord. Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for God is with me. 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him. 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' May I 'be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that

for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.' Phil. iii. 9—14.

"Pray for us, that the Lord may open the door for his word among us."

These are statements on which it would be superfluous to offer lengthened comment. And yet it is impossible to contemplate without devout admiration, such bright, such impressive evidence of the reality and efficacy of the Gospel. Here is a converted idolater brought to the martyr's test, and nobly "refusing to accept deliverance, that she might obtain a better resurrection; out of weakness waxing strong," and counting not even life itself worth possessing, without the confession of the Saviour's name! This honoured martyr has left to the care of the church in Madagascar, under the great Shepherd, one orphan little girl, a martyr's child, for whose welfare the deepest solicitude is felt, and tidings respecting whom are most anxiously desired.

Fifteen others had been apprehended, and condemned to the utter and final loss of liberty, never to be redeemed by their friends; and with the further stipulation, that, if transferred to other masters, it shall be on the condition of their being compelled to labour from morning to night, to the utmost limits of their strength. Their property has also been confiscated.* Of those who were married, their wives and children, whether professing Christianity or not, have

* According to the custom of Madagascar, when the property of a criminal is confiscated, a certain portion—one-tenth—is distributed among the civil officers. It is a circumstance of considerable interest, that in the present instance, when the legal portion of the confiscated property was offered to the parties above referred to, few could be induced to accept it,—only some of the most profligate would touch what appeared to have something sacred about it.

also been reduced to slavery, but with the mitigating circumstance of permission to be redeemed. The total number thus affected is said to amount to nearly one hundred.

This event occurring about a fortnight after the government had received the official report of the embassy to Europe, which had been sent to Madagascar when the embassy left this country for France, destroyed to a great extent the hopes that had been entertained of favourable results from their visit to this country, and excited serious apprehensions in the minds of many, that no representations, even from the highest quarters, would induce the queen and her advisers to relax their efforts in behalf of idolatry, or to treat with more favourable regard the professors of the Christian religion.

It was feared that on account of the great distance of our country from theirs, their unavoidable inability to form any just conception of the resources and power of England, or to understand and appreciate our principles of action; together with a sufficiently high opinion of their own importance in the scale of nations—especially their right to exercise absolute power over the ill-fated subjects of their rule, without being called to account by any foreign nation —they would disregard all recommendations that were unfavourable to their own views. The tidings received during the year that has elapsed since the martyrdom of Rafaravavy have only tended to strengthen these fears. The Missionaries have not been able to visit Madagascar since the summer of 1837, and in the interval no distinct and authentic accounts have been received from the island.

The message from her majesty the queen-dowager of England, to the queen of Madagascar, must have been delivered; and the absence of all notice of any beneficial result, forces upon us the conclusion that it was not favour-

ably received; had it been otherwise, we cannot but suppose that some means would have been found for making it known to the Missionaries or their friends. The natives are forbidden to write to any foreigner, and no letters have been received in Mauritius; but reports, generally vague and unsatisfactory, have been frequently brought to the latter by traders between Port Louis and the Malagasy coast. These reports conveyed no intimation of the least improvement in the circumstances or prospects of the people, though each, adding to the number of impediments to commercial intercourse, and causes of annoyance to the European traders, renders stronger remonstrance from our government in behalf of the claims of humanity, as well as in favour of the interests of its own subjects, more imperative than ever.

When the latest accounts were sent from Mauritius, no report had arrived of the adoption by the native government of any measures less oppressive and sanguinary than those by which the Hovas have now reduced the people under their rule to the extreme of social wretchedness. No tidings had been received tending to allay the deep anxiety of our brethren, and the generous and warmly attached Christian friends of the Madagascar Mission in Mauritius, on behalf of those reduced to perpetual and rigorous slavery, or doomed to fetters and imprisonment. No accounts of leniency on the part of the government, or any mitigation of the sufferings of the Christians, were received; but reports were brought by more than one conveyance, of continued persecution, and continued if not increased severity towards the Christians. An early report stated that accusations had been preferred against a considerable number of the natives, and that another female had been sacrificed. After subsequent arrivals, it was reported that several had been put to death

on account of their adherence to the Christian faith. Multiplied as, according to all accounts, the causes of suffering and terror seem to have become, no rumour even has been heard of any one having apostatized; while many statements were given of the steadfastness of the Christians, or, as the heathen natives called it, their determined stubbornness or obstinacy.

How far these rumours may have any foundation in truth, it is, in the absence of authentic information, impossible to say. More direct intelligence will probably, at no distant period, place the state of the native Christians beyond uncertainty or doubt. In the mean time, deeply and affectionately as every Christian, with whatever section of the church he may be united, must sympathize with the faithful disciples against whom the fury of the oppressor still continues to rage, the evident peril in which they stand will excite more intense and lively interest in their behalf, produce more holy yearnings of soul over those apparently appointed unto death, and impel more urgently to strong cries and tears, to more agonizing wrestling in prayer until the arm of Omnipotence be made bare, the people be delivered, and the name of the Lord be exalted among the heathen.

In all seasons of extremity, the church has had recourse to prayer; that remedy never has failed, and will not fail now: and dark and desolate as is the scene which Madagascar presents, there is nothing, even in its most appalling features, to justify despondency, but every thing to inspire confidence and encourage hope. No strange thing has happened; the Church of Christ in every age has been opposed by the agents of satanic enmity and rage, and it has always been triumphant. In every country to which the gospel has been introduced, it has roused the spirit of murderous persecution, but it has always proved invincible. Christianity

has advanced in countries where it has been opposed by far more formidable obstacles than now arrest its course in Madagascar. It has vanquished antagonists vastly more numerous and powerful than the barbarous and sanguinary rulers who there set themselves, and take counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed, saying, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast their cords from us." The scriptures have been extensively circulated in the island; the seed of divine truth has thus been scattered widely over the country—that country, now the sacred deposit of a martyr's ashes, thus taken possession of for Christ, must ultimately become his inheritance; that seed is incorruptible seed, and, now watered with a martyr's blood, must issue in a rich and abundant harvest. The recent events in Madagascar have completed the chain of evidence supplied by the results of modern Missionary efforts, which has so satisfactorily proved that the principles of divine truth are imperishable, and that the power of the gospel on the human mind is unimpaired, that it is still not only mighty to turn men from dumb idols to the living God, but to sustain under all the means of intimidation and suffering which the malignant subtlety of fiends and the cruelty of men can devise or employ. These are the evidences of its divine origin, the earnests of its future triumphs, the pledges of its final and universal ascendency, through the power of Him whose kingdom ruleth over all, who will cause the wrath of man to praise him, while the remainder of that wrath he will restrain.

THE END.

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